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WEEK OF 25 JAN

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CIA - CALLS FOR SUPPORT/CHARTERS, ETC.

(Gave you all clips because it feels so good!)

Approved For Release 2009/05/06 : CIA-RDP05T00644R000501340002-0

LOWELL SUN (MASS)  
4 January 1980

The Voice of The People

# Strengthen our CIA and FBI

LOWELL — At this time, as a nation, we should realize that athletic teams as well as competitive business have never won the contest without first knowing a little of the opposition's game plan. Why is our government any different?

Our problem is Iran and our recent surprises in Afghanistan prove one thing, the politicians in Washington who shouted down and throttled the C.I.A. and F.B.I. over the past few years have led us to this situation.

This situation has been worsened by an administration who feels we should be nice to everyone. I hope they realize that one can't be nice to all people be-

cause some of these people will devour you.

One need only look at how reluctant our good friends were in committing themselves to support our position in Iran both on hostages and oil purchases.

To become a strong world power again, with not only respect from our world neighbors but some clout with the same neighbors, we must know what they are doing and where they are going at all times. The simple fact of the matter is we don't know.

The politicians can't tell us this, they'll only tell us what they want us to hear and with an election year coming

up, they all will be very vocal on the subject.

Put some teeth in the C.I.A. and F.B.I. Our elected people in Washington should know what's going on in the capitals of the world, and also what's going on in our own country that affects our own world picture.

C.R. Wilson  
107 Clark Rd.

BURLINGTON TIMES-NEWS (N. C.)  
7 January 1980

# The CIA

## Why are we so surprised?

The United States Central Intelligence Agency has been under fire in recent years, and not without good reason.

The activities of this clandestine organization have been hidden from the public and from the people in government who are supposed to monitor its operations, and some of its activities have created problems which have been difficult for this nation.

Now, with recent events around the world being vividly in front of our eyes, questions must be raised about the effectiveness of this group of secret operatives.

Why did this nation not know of the difficulties that were taking place prior to the overthrow of the Shah of Iran? The CIA should have known what was about to happen if it had been doing its secret job of gathering information about the internal affairs of other nations.

Yet, the action there came as a surprise.

And what about the sudden attack by the Soviet Union on the nation of Afghanistan more recently?

That certainly came as a surprise to the folks in Washington. Or if they knew about it, they kept it a secret for reasons unknown.

Had the United States known in advance what the Soviets were planning, pressure could have been brought to bear in advance of the action. But after it has taken place, there is little this country can do but say it is a dastardly deed.

There must have been a lot of activity in the Soviet Union prior to an invasion of such massive proportions, and such activity certainly would have come to the attention of

an intelligence operation of the magnitude and efficiency as the one we have been led to believe is conducted by the United States.

But the invasion was a surprise to Jimmy Carter and the rest of the folks in Washington.

These situations lead one to wonder just where the CIA has been.

Has its operations become so muddled in bureaucracy that it no longer operates with any degree of efficiency? Is it tuned in to what is happening in the world?

No one knows how much it costs to operate this intelligence agency. That's a dark secret, just like everything else in the CIA. And because of the secrecy, it is likely that this agency never has to justify its budget requests.

The CIA has become a big and powerful organization, so big and powerful that it has become almost an independent agency, operating behind a cloak without public, or even governmental, scrutiny. When someone pries, the CIA can go on the defensive by saying that its activities must be kept secret in order for it to perform its work.

And as long as this goes on, the agency can become a world apart from the other arms of the government.

Someone, somewhere needs to force a look at this agency and determine just what it is doing and how much it is costing to do whatever is being done.

But with the recent surprises on the international scene, it would be interesting first to find out just what it is that the CIA has been doing.

TOLEDO BLADE (OHIO)  
6 January 1980

## CIA Charter Lagging

**W**HATEVER the reasons for delay, the Carter administration should not abandon its efforts — as it appears ready to do — to draft a CIA charter for congressional review.

It is not easy to draw up such a document for a controversial and largely secret agency which has been criticized by Congress and the public for abuses during the Viet-

nam and Watergate eras and even earlier.

Setting forth ground rules for a spy agency is a balancing process. As The Blade pointed out earlier this year, it "represents the classic challenge in a free society based on the rule of law of balancing civil liberties and national security. Protection of both is essential to the well-being of all."

At issue within the drafting process are provisions which can spark a clash between advocates of both points of view. It has been reported that the Administration's charter as it now stands would permit some spying on Americans while allowing the CIA to conduct clandestine operations in foreign nations. This is the kind of issue that could ignite those concerned exclusively about civil liberties.

The charter should, of course, reflect renewed concern about U.S. security. Although it became fashionable following the end of the Vietnam War to believe our interests were limited to our national boundaries, that era clearly has ended. U.S. security needs extend far beyond our borders, and a CIA charter should take into account that those needs cannot be taken lightly.

The desirability of a charter remains, regardless of the political backdrop. Even in an election year, time should be found for action on such a code.

PHILADELPHIA NEWS  
11 January 1980

# U.S. Paying the Price For Crippling the CIA

By JIM NICHOLSON

**I**ntelligence" is the dirty word of the late Sixties and Seventies.

During this country's 15-year period of self-flagellation we tried to stamp out intelligence gathering wherever and whenever we could. Civil libertarians, academia and the news media locked arms in a "holy crusade" to purge the menace from our midst.

Unfortunately, the purge succeeded to a degree locally and nationally. We are beginning to reap the libertarians' legacy in the Middle East. We don't really know who the hell has taken over our embassy in Tehran. Students? PLO-trained terrorists? KGB-sponsored operatives? We hear guesses. There may be other possibilities, but I won't know until I go home and check with my 11-year-old son Jeffrey. He guesses too.

On April 13, 1978, CIA Director Stansfield Turner said the Soviet Union had fallen seriously behind the U.S. in the technical aspects of intelligence. He said satellites and other devices have enhanced the CIA's ability to gather information on a global scale. I put this hardware on a level with the polygraph (lie detector). Polygraph information is on a par with what you get from a wino at 5th and Vine by slipping him a fin. It may be helpful, but I would not stake my reputation or my life on it. It is an investigative aid, nothing conclusive, except for the sick, lame or lazy investigator.

This is the same Stansfield Turner who tried to fire 800 experienced field agents from the CIA's covert activities section in August 1977. Eleven months later, Turner quietly rescinded that order amid Congressional and public outcry. He fired only about 100 — that we know of. But Turner's original message and direction was clear enough.

It is too bad that during the planning sessions for the embassy takeover Turner's spy in the sky and other fancy hardware couldn't have bugged that student coffeehouse in Tehran, or "turned" one or two Iranians sitting in on that meeting to report back to us. But it would have required men and women in the field to perform these tasks.

Men and women make mistakes, sometimes in basic judgement, while blind to all but the objective. The CIA and every other intelligence gathering agency in this country has been made to pay for these mistakes. Not only did the civil libertarians and media get their pound of flesh, they went on to try to break every bone in the body.

Court suits and congressional and executive actions heaped limitations on the CIA, FBI and local police departments. The litany of restrictions need not be repeated again. But we should take another look at the results.

Last year a ranking FBI official in Philadelphia confided: "Our files have been ordered virtually cleaned out by court order and bureau directives since 1974 regarding terrorist groups. If the Green (Federal) building blew up right now, about all we would have to start with on the investigation would be to start sifting through the rubble."

Incredibly, President Carter had upbraided the CIA for not forecasting the Shah's overthrow, even though he ordered the agency not to spy on our friends. That "allies don't spy on allies" argument won't wash. It was Israeli intelligence that tailed Andy Young to that clandestine PLO meeting last year. It was Carter who personally ordered an end to covert internal political operations across the board. It was also Carter who hand-picked old Annapolis classmate Turner to run the U.S. intelligence community.

Carter's sensitive, humanitarian approach to intelligence was in character with the anti-Washington, anti-establishment platform that got him into office. Along the way he became a laughingstock among the intelligence professionals. It's no longer funny. In Afghanistan we are apparently relying heavily on refugee goat-herders for estimates of Russian tanks because we have no spies inside the country.

But the President was, as they say, going with the flow. Reflecting the consensus, the national mood which — thanks to the media — has been anti-intelligence.

I remain amazed, though, that one information-gathering operation escaped the purge unscathed. One which I worked with and for at various intervals, and not always proudly.

It is a crack intelligence network with several hundred field operatives strategically placed around the country. This outfit could — and did — produce outstanding phony ID on a moment's notice and push through bogus vouchers for surveillance equipment.

One supervisor didn't even blink when he ordered one operative to plant electronic eavesdropping devices in a government office. From the field I could do an instant background on a subject with a phone call.

Support personnel at headquarters could tap into a computerized crossfile for a printout, bolster that with a voluminous manual file and plug into headquarters experts familiar with the subject who could render a personal feel for the subject.

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**W**e never called it "intelligence" though. That was a dirty word. Right, baby. The "agency" is Philadelphia Newspapers Inc., which publishes the Daily News and Inquirer. And this intelligence-gathering operation is called reporting and writing stories for publication.

The civil libertarians and humanitarians never quite got around to dismantling newspaper operations and we certainly didn't hang out our own laundry on the line. Maybe because the news media and the crusaders were too busy — trading intelligence about police, FBI and CIA intelligence abuses.

*Jim Nicholson is a Daily News reporter with a background in investigations.*



CIA chief Stansfield Turner



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A1-4THE WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)  
24 January 1980

# Would Ease Restraints On Spying

By Phil Gailey  
and Jeremiah O'Leary  
Washington Star Staff Writers

President Carter, accusing the Soviet Union of casting a threatening shadow over the Middle East oil fields, warned last night that he is prepared to use military force to turn back a Soviet attack on the Persian Gulf area.

Using his annual State of the Union address to Congress as the platform for laying out his strategic response to Soviet aggression on the edge of the world's richest oil reservoir, Carter drew a line and warned the Soviets not to cross it.

"An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America," the president declared, "and such an assault will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force."

To underscore his words, the president announced that he plans to reactivate the Selective Service System for military registration of young men between the ages of 18 and 26 in case the need for mobilization arises.

He also called on Congress to give prompt approval to a new charter that would remove "unwarranted restraints" on the activities of U.S. intelligence agencies and to reaffirm the 1959 U.S. commitment to Pakistan's security.

It was not the first time the president has vowed to use military action to protect vital American interests in the Persian Gulf, but last night's stern and serious ultimatum to the Kremlin was set in a major foreign policy address that some are calling the "Carter Doctrine," a label the White House has been resisting.

Although Carter's tough stance could lead to a military confrontation with the Soviet Union, and to the possibility of nuclear war, he explained why the nation must take that risk.

Noting that the Persian Gulf region holds two-thirds of the world's exportable oil, Carter said, "The Soviet effort to dominate Afghanistan has brought Soviet military forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the Straits of Hormuz — a waterway through which much of the free world's oil must flow. The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position. Therefore, it poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil."

Denouncing the Soviet Union's "radical and aggressive new step" of invading Afghanistan, Carter said Moscow must realize that its action will be "costly to every political and economic relationship it values."

He said the world's condemnation of the Soviet move is not enough. "The Soviet Union must pay a concrete price for their aggression," the president said. "While this invasion continues, we and the other nations of the world cannot continue business as usual with the Soviet Union."

In addition to the economic and political sanctions he already has imposed against the Soviets, the president said in the coming months he will be working to "further strengthen political and military ties" with other countries in the region. He said the administration would arrange for U.S. naval and air facilities in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf.

Congress, like the country as a whole, is in a patriotic mood these days because of the hostage crisis in Iran and the Soviet move into Afghanistan, and the members gave Carter the warmest State of the Union reception of his three-year-old presidency.

Twenty times they interrupted his speech with applause.

They applauded his call for military registration, his vow to keep

American athletes away from the Moscow Olympics, his promise to use military force to keep the Soviets out of the Persian Gulf region, his proposal to ease restrictions on the CIA, his bigger defense budget and his warning that Iran will pay a "severe" price if harm comes to any of the 50 American hostages.

White House aides earlier in the day said Carter's address was intended to set forth a long-range U.S. strategic response to the Soviet threat to the Persian Gulf and not to sound a "bugle call" for national mobilization.

"This is not an acute crisis," one senior administration official told reporters last night. "We are not headed for an immediate confrontation with the Soviet Union."

Still, some administration aides acknowledged that the president's decision to begin military registration could heighten tensions somewhat on the homefront.

Carter said in his speech that he is convinced that voluntary military forces are "adequate for our current defense needs" and that he hopes it will not become necessary to bring back the draft.

"However," he added, "we must be prepared for that possibility. For this reason, I have determined that the Selective Service system must now be revitalized. I will send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise."

Administration officials said Carter has not decided whether to ask Congress to include women in the military registration. Last year, Defense Secretary Harold Brown told Congress that the draft, if it is resumed, should apply to women as well as men.

Carter also asked Congress for quick passage of a new charter for U.S. intelligence agencies "to define clearly the legal authority and accountability."

He cited the need "to remove unwarranted restraints on America's ability to collect intelligence" and tighten controls over sensitive intelligence information.

An administration official explained that the president is concerned that too many congressional committees — and their staffs — are privy to information gathered by the intelligence community.

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ON PAGE A-7

WASHINGTON STAR (RED LINE)  
24 JANUARY 1980

## On the Hill, Most Favor Tough Stand

By Lisa Myers  
and Alan Ehrenhalt  
Washington Star Staff Writers

President Carter's warning to the Soviets to keep their hands off the Persian Gulf drew broad approval in Congress last night, although liberals and conservatives alike left the chamber still wondering what would prompt Carter to use military force.

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Carter's appeal for a lifting of "unwarranted restraints" on U.S. intelligence gathering agencies is likely to be more favorably received.

Considerable support already exists for exempting the CIA from certain provisions of Freedom of Information laws, which some say enabled the Soviet KGB to obtain classified information. A law requiring that all covert operations be reported to eight congressional committees also is likely to be revised to limit disclosure to one or two congressional intelligence committees.

EXCERPTED

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A8THE WASHINGTON POST  
24 January 1980

# Senate Panel Seeking to Cut Public Access to CIA Data

By George Lardner

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Intelligence Committee intends to sponsor a major cutback to the Freedom of Information Act that would prohibit public access to countless CIA documents.

Sen. Walter D. Huddleston (D-Ky.) said the proposal would restrict the right of American citizens seeking information about themselves to obtain records of CIA operations.

Much of the information CIA has had to make public in recent years—from its files on the Kennedy assassination and the agency's drug-experimentation programs to its domestic spying operations—could be denied automatically under this new rule.

The proposal perhaps gained impetus last night when President Carter called for "quick passage of a new charter" to define intelligence agencies' legal authority and accountability. "We need to remove unwarranted restraints on our ability to collect intelligence and to tighten our controls on sensitive intelligence information. An effective intelligence capability is vital to our nation's security," Carter said in his State of the Union address.

The committee proposal is part of a drive to give the CIA what Huddleston described as "greater operational flexibility" in light of the Iranian crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

He said the FOIA revision would be included in a proposed Carter administration charter for the intelligence community that is almost ready to be introduced. In the drafting stage for the past two years, it has been evolving into a license for wide-ranging secret activities with few blanket prohibitions.

Huddleston observed that "the climate has changed considerably" since the mid-1970s when disclosure of CIA abuses produced demands for tight statutory restrictions on the agency. Now, he said, "the Afghanistan thing

has put a little more impetus behind doing something" to give the agency a freer hand.

Huddleston denied that the charter would usher in a revival of the CIA's "good old days" when few members of Congress were informed of the agency's activities and those who were told were reluctant to press for details.

Only a few weeks ago, the administration had given up any hopes of securing congressional passage of a charter for the CIA before the 1980 elections. But Huddleston said a concerted drive will now be made to win enactment, at least in the Senate.

As chairman of the Senate Intelligence subcommittee on charters and guidelines, Huddleston said he fears the opportunity to obtain a comprehensive charter will be lost by further delay. The House appears more inclined to adopt piecemeal bills that would give the CIA greater secrecy and flexibility, without the offsetting rules that a charter would spell out.

One of the biggest items on the CIA's legislative "wish list," for instance, is repeal of the 1974 Hughes-Ryan amendment governing clandestine operations. Under Hughes-Ryan, covert actions can be undertaken in foreign countries only if the president finds each such operation "important to the national security" and reports it "in a timely fashion to the appropriate committees of the Congress."

The CIA has always denounced the requirement as an invitation to leaks since it requires reports to eight congressional committees. The administration's draft charter would scuttle Hughes-Ryan and restrict such reports to the Senate and House Intelligence committees.

Separate moves to change the laws affecting the CIA are under way in the House. Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, told a reporter he intends to sponsor a repeal of Hughes-Ryan as an amendment to

the Foreign Assistance Act. Zablocki predicted it would win majority support in his committee and in the House.

The Hughes-Ryan rule was originally adopted in 1974 as part of that year's Foreign Assistance Act, before the permanent Intelligence committees were created. But it remains the controlling law on covert activities since the Intelligence committees have yet to move on the matter.

Under the revision of Hughes-Ryan to be included in the administration's proposed charter, the president would have to approve only covert operations involving "substantial" risks, resources or consequences. The bill reportedly will not attempt to define "substantial."

Huddleston said he knew of no leaks that could definitely be blamed on Hughes-Ryan, but he said there have been some covert operations the CIA has decided not to undertake because of fear of disclosure. He said the restraint may have been a "good thing," at least in some cases, but said he saw no reason for the CIA to have to inform so many committees.

He maintained that the Intelligence committees could be trusted to serve as "proxies not only for Congress but for the people."

"You just can't make it all public," he declared. "You've got to have confidence in somebody."

The CIA has also been chafing under the information act since it was effectively forced to comply in 1975. Until then, CIA documents could be withheld simply by invocation of the so-called "national security" exemption, but Congress changed the rule by providing that the reasons for such secrecy could be challenged in court. It also laid down deadlines for compliance.

Agency officials have acknowledged the CIA can still protect legitimate secrets under FOIA, including its sources and methods, but they contend the law is still "inappropriate, unnecessary . . . and harmful" to the agency because its sources abroad remain fearful of disclosure.

The proposed solution would create virtually a blanket exemption for the activities of the CIA's Directorate of

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Operations. In addition to personal records, the Freedom of Information Act could still be used to obtain "finished national intelligence products," but apparently nothing else.

A similar measure, including exemptions drafted by the CIA and others sought by the FBI, is awaiting hearings before the House Government Operations subcommittee on government information, which has jurisdiction over the Freedom of Information Act.

Huddleston said the Senate Intelligence Committee and the administration are close to agreement on the proposed charter, which he expects to be introduced next month and moved to markup after a quick round of hearings. He said committee members this week will seek a meeting with President Carter in an effort to settle several outstanding issues.

One involves the paid use of journalists, academics and clergymen, which the Intelligence Committee wants to prohibit by law. The CIA, Huddleston said, wants to deal with the question by more flexible, administrative "guidelines."

The Senate committee is also seeking refinements in the administration plan to permit spying on law-abiding Americans not suspected of any wrongdoing, but who may have information the government deems important. Huddleston, however, declined to spell out the changes being sought because, he said, the negotiations are too "delicate" to lay out in public.

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NEW YORK TIMES  
24 JANUARY 1980

# Transcript of President's State of the Union Address to Joint Session of Congress

We also need clear and quick passage of a new charter to define the legal authority and accountability of our intelligence agencies. We will guarantee that abuses do not recur, but we must tighten our controls on sensitive intelligence information and we need to remove unwarranted restraints on American's ability to collect intelligence.

EXCERPTED

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 53AMERICA MAGAZINE  
January 26 1980

## Resurrecting the C.I.A.

In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the continuing impasse with radical students in Iran, many Americans, including the Congress and the President, are having second thoughts about the restrictions under which the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) has been forced to work in recent years. The legitimacy and importance of the agency's intelligence operations, the collection and analysis of information, has never really been challenged, but its so-called covert activities, attempts through a variety of means to influence events in other nations, has been severely criticized on ethical grounds. But even intelligence gathering must be in part covert or secret, if it is to be fully effective, and the question now being asked is whether, by overreacting to some unsavory scandals connected with C.I.A. excesses, the Congress has dangerously hobbled the agency in the pursuit of its legitimate goals.

In an ideal world, of course, there would be no need for a C.I.A., or for armies and navies, for that matter. But the real world unfortunately is a more dangerous place. In particular, as the world has been abruptly reminded, Soviet imperialism is a grim fact of international life. It is in the interests of a peaceful and stable world, as well as U.S. security, that the C.I.A. be able to use the widest possible range of sources for the information so necessary to the wise conduct of U.S. foreign policy. Under certain circumstances, the United States should also be able, through the agency or some other means, to assist democratic factions in other countries who are threatened by outside aggression.

Employees of the C.I.A. are neither supermen nor psychotic killers, but ordinary men and women capable of altruism but also capable of being corrupted by the power and secrecy that are inherent in intelligence work. Their activities must be overseen by elected officials. It would be wrong for Congress to merely repeal the Hughes-Ryan amendment without passing a new C.I.A. charter. The Hughes-Ryan amendment requires that eight congressional committees with over 200 members be informed of all covert operations. Informing so many people makes secrecy almost impossible. At the same time, if only the two intelligence committees are to be informed, the congressmen appointed to these committees should not be friendly patrons of the agency but alert and knowledgeable monitors.

The Hughes-Ryan amendment also requires that the President personally approve each covert operation.

There have been complaints that some operations were not done simply because the President did not have the time to review them. While it might be appropriate to allow staff members of the White House's National Security Council to approve small-scale operations, it would be a serious mistake to allow the C.I.A. to do any covert work without clearance from the White House. The President and members of the congressional intelligence committees are responsible for what the C.I.A. does, and the voters must hold them accountable for its actions.

Control of the C.I.A. by the President and oversight by Congress are not enough. There must also be a C.I.A. charter defining its responsibilities. The charter should clearly state that the C.I.A. will not be involved in assassinations of political leaders, terrorism, torture, the subversion of democratically elected governments, spying on Americans without a court order or supporting drug rings. Ironically, the record shows that little has actually been accomplished by such tactics beyond the personal degradation of those who employ them.

There is an inherent tension between the secrecy evidently necessary for an effective intelligence agency and the values of a democratic society. National awareness of the dangers of the art is healthy. But such awareness should not paralyze the Government in the exercise of its national and international responsibilities nor allow the complex, often ambiguous, judgments that must be made in this area to become distorted by exaggerated shifts in popular sentiment.

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS  
16 January 1980

Middle East:

# We're NOT No. 1

AMERICA'S CUP of despair is replenished by each daily development in the arc of crisis stretching from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of Afghanistan.

On a single day, a Soviet armored division in Afghanistan is reported within striking distance of Iran's oil fields, and American correspondents are ordered out of Tehran.

The country's frustration cannot be alleviated much by the knowledge that, 15 years ago, such affronts would not have occurred — or that if they had, the United States, being No. 1 in the world, could have coped with them. Even 10 years ago, America could have coped.

In 1980, the shoe is firmly on the other foot. Granted that, in responding to the Iranian-Afghan crisis, we have neglected important options available to us — for example, funneling arms to the Afghan rebels. That in no way alters the fact that America's strategic position in the world is far weaker than a decade ago. We are No. 1 no longer.

How has this sorrowful condition come about? Not by accident. Rather, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with the Vietnam trauma at its height, Americans made a conscious decision: No longer would they "police the world." They had higher priorities, such as saving the cities and raising up the poor and downtrodden.

The decision (a series of decisions, actually, that compassed the disemboweling of

the CIA and big cutbacks in military programs) was borne up on self-flagellating rhetoric. America was racist. It was imperialist. The Soviets did not say so: We said it ourselves — or at all events our commentators and public leaders said it. "Come home, America," the slogan of George McGovern's presidential campaign, became, despite McGovern's defeat, the unofficial national motto.

What Vietnam had begun, Watergate completed — namely, the exhaustion of the American will to assert American interests through the projection of American power, military as well as economic. President Nixon warned against his country's becoming "a pitiful, helpless giant." But, of course, that was just Nixon.

Or was it? For surely the image of pitiful, helpless giant fits the nation that permits Iran to kidnap its citizens and the Soviet Union to invade a neighbor.

There is of course a brighter side to most things and, in the present context, it is that we are not down so far as we would have been in another couple of years. American determination and tenacity are not extinct. The things that need doing, if American prestige is to be recovered, can still be done — starting with the defeat of SALT II. The doing of them is the challenge of the '80s. If we doubt the consequences of further delay and hesitation, we have only to look eastward.

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THE WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)  
22 January 1980

# U.S. Must Be a Catalyst in East, Official Says

## Regional Security Needs Are Cited

By Henry S. Bradsher  
Washington Star Staff Writer

The United States has to act as the catalyst for many nations with vital interests in the Middle East and South Asia to improve regional security, a senior official says in commenting on President Carter's State of the Union message to Congress.

Some U.S. allies in Europe and East Asia are not eager to become involved with the efforts needed to protect their access to oil because both money and sustained commitment are needed, the official added.

He spoke to reporters at the White House yesterday without wanting to be identified. Other officials have been holding discussions with allies about bolstering Pakistan and other nations in the region.

In his message, Carter said that the United States faces "some of the most serious challenges in the history of this nation. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a threat to global peace, to East-West relations, and to regional stability and to the flow of oil."

The official said that "we are dealing with a long-term problem" in the region as a result of "a gradual but increasingly significant deterioration of the situation." The region is vital to the United States, but even more vital to Western Europe and Japan because they are more heavily dependent on its oil, he added.

A long-term approach to providing stability there should avoid a crisis atmosphere or creating the idea that "we are on the brink of a conflict," the official said. Instead of emphasizing a conflict, the United States should not forget its obligation to try to pursue the positive aspects of

relations with the Soviet Union, he said.

Discussing South Asia, Carter's message said that this country must help India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal to "develop a capability to withstand Soviet pressures in a strengthened framework for cooperation in the region."

The United States is "pursuing the possibility of gaining access to military facilities in the region in time of trouble," the message said.

In the context, this meant facilities in Pakistan or some other South Asian country. The message discussed separately the Middle East, Persian Gulf and African regions where the United States has said it is exploring base facilities in Oman, Somalia and Kenya. But the official denied the context, insisting that the message referred to the explorations already made public.

He did not directly deny that permission might be sought for U.S. Air Force or Navy units to use facilities in Pakistan.

Carter listed five "basic goals for America in the world over the 1980s."

- The five were:
- Building U.S. and allied military strength.
- Working "to resolve disputes through peaceful means and to make any aggressor pay a heavy price."
- Solving international economic problems and encouraging global economic growth.
- Supporting human rights and democratic institutions.
- Pursuing arms control, with the new strategic arms limitations treaty, SALT II, still seen as being in the national interest.

In carrying these out, Carter listed eight "most immediate legislative priorities" for Congress. They were Defense Department bills, foreign security aid, foreign economic aid, the China trade agreement, a new charter for U.S. intelligence operations, refugee legislation and funding, approval of human rights conventions, "and, when appropriate, the SALT II treaty."



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ON PAGE A-27

WILMINGTON EVENING JOURNAL  
16 January 1980



"Let's give his teeth back or put him out of his misery."

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 69THE NATION  
26 January 1980

## Leash the C.I.A.

In 1974, after a series of exposés of attempted assassinations, secret wars, lethal drug experiments, pimping, bribery and conspiracies against elected governments by the Central Intelligence Agency, Congress enacted a single reform: the Hughes-Ryan amendment, which required that a few more committees be apprised in advance of C.I.A. covert operations, though their approval was not needed. As far as is known, they never leaked word of any covert operation. Nonetheless, the Carter Administration is now citing the crises in Iran and Afghanistan as reasons for eliminating that modest reform.

The most deleterious effect of a repeal of the Hughes-Ryan amendment would be its symbolic significance. It would give notice to the C.I.A. that it is expected to act the way it did in the good old days. The covert operators would have free rein to devise variations on those grand games they once played: manufacturing a poisoned wet suit to present to Fidel Castro; organizing a revolution in Indonesia (too bad the rebels were massacred); overthrowing governments in Guatemala and Chile; the Bay of Pigs; the war in Laos.

There is an obvious irony in relying on the seizure of the hostages in Iran to justify covert operations by the C.I.A. The agency long regarded its role in toppling Mohammed Mossadegh's government in 1953 as one of its great successes. Though those events took place a quarter of a century ago, they inspire much of the current anti-American fury in Iran. It no longer seems certain that American interests were advanced by removing Mossadegh, even when measured by the standards of the Dulles brothers, masterminds of that coup.

Nor does Afghanistan provide a fresh reason for reviving C.I.A. covert functions. No one contends that the agency could have deterred the Soviet invasion. Indeed, Afghanistan demonstrates once again the immorality of such intervention by a superpower in the affairs of a small nation. It has earned the Soviet Union the condemnation of most of the world. The United States has been the object of such condemnation in the past, and need not court more opprobrium by renewed C.I.A. adventuring.

Underlying all covert operations, of course, is a cynical distrust of the democratic process. The governments in whose affairs the C.I.A. intervenes always find out; it is the American public that is kept in the dark. If the public could be counted on to approve intermeddling, there would be no need for concealing it. When Jimmy Carter campaigned for President in 1976, he pledged to end such secrecy. To an incumbent President, however, things look different: it is *his* C.I.A., after all, so he capitalizes on the uncertain international climate to insulate it further from democratic constraints. He should be stopped. As modest a reform as it is, Hughes-Ryan must be preserved.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 15THE BALTIMORE SUN  
22 January 1980

# Back out Into the Cold

Washington.

A STRONG POSSIBILITY is growing on Capitol Hill that there will be a favorable turn this year in the melancholy fortunes of the Central Intelligence Agency.

We may—and that word “may” has to be emphasized—we may soon begin to see a revitalization of an agency that for five years has suffered a fate it never deserved.

If this prospect materializes, something good, at least, will have

By James J. Kilpatrick

emerged from the mess in the Middle East. Under wise safeguards, not fatuous ones, the CIA may be able to resume covert operations clearly in the national interest.

There seems to be a growing sentiment both on Capitol Hill and in the White House that the time has come to repeal the Hughes-Ryan amendment of 1974. This alone would not breathe life back into the demoralized CIA, but it would surely help.

By way of background: During the last couple of years of the Nixon administration, the CIA became the target of pacifists and idealists who saw the agency as an unrestrained monster. I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who came to symbolize the campaign against the CIA. I do emphatically question his judgment.

He was convinced that the agency had to come in from the cold; he wanted its covert operations severely restricted if not halted altogether. Though he sought conscientiously to prevent disclosure of the CIA's names and sources, he cherished the naive notion that it would be better—more democratic, you know—to let it all hang out.

Thus began the systematic, senseless dismantling of an intelligence agency that had been the best in the world. In December of 1974, as an amendment to the Foreign Aid Act, Congress approved a provision sponsored by Harold Hughes of Iowa in the Senate and by Leo Ryan of California in the House. This is what it said:

“No funds appropriated under the authority of this or any other act may be expended by or on behalf of the CIA for operations in foreign countries, other than activities intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence, unless and until the President finds that each such operation is important to the national security and reports, in a timely fashion, a description and scope of such operation to the appropriate committees of the Congress.”

There turned out to be eight such “appropriate” committees on the Hill. Each of the committees has a large staff. Faced with the virtual certainty of massive leaks, President Ford threw in the towel. President Carter, who suffered until quite recently from qualms and delusions, followed in the paths of innocence that Frank Church had established.

Mr. Carter's choice to head the CIA, Admiral Stansfield Turner, fired 800 CIA officers and pushed another 2,000 into retirement. Nothing very good has happened to the CIA since then.

That the CIA made some gross mistakes in the period before Hughes-Ryan, no one denies, though some of us will continue to believe that the CIA's role in Chile between 1964 and 1973 was not as diabolical as The New York Times would have us believe.

The CIA politicked quite effectively on behalf of the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei in 1964 and almost succeeded in preventing the Marxist Salvador Allende from winning his one-point plurality in 1970.

Through its own covert operations, the Soviet Union was doing precisely the same kind of thing the CIA was doing. No apologies are called for. The Soviets put their man in power and brought chaos on the country. The anti-Allende coup of 1973 would have developed if the CIA had spent its time on tea and crumpets.

Few observers would give the president—any president—unrestrained power to conduct covert paramilitary operations through the CIA. But in the kind of world we live in, a world increasingly imperiled by aggressive Soviet expansion, it makes no sense to fight fire with water pistols.

We ought to repeal Hughes-Ryan and limit presidential confidences to the two intelligence committees only. Such a move would provide a useful first step on a long road back.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A14THE WASHINGTON POST  
19 January 1980

## Arms Expansion, Not Control, on New Hill Agenda

By Richard L. Lyons and Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Congress left town last month expecting to vote on arms limitation when it returned. Instead, it will reconvene next week preoccupied with arms expansion.

At President Carter's request, the Senate has shelved the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty for the foreseeable future, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The first order of business in both House and Senate in what has already been called this "post-Afghan Congress" will be a slap at the Soviet Union—action on the administration's proposal to normalize trade relations with the People's Republic of China, according to a nondiscriminatory status never given the Soviets.

Proposals made last fall to extend this most-favored-nation status to the Soviets as well in a spirit of evenhandedness will not be heard. Congress instead will vote on military aid to the Pakistanis, who were denied it last year for fear they are developing a nuclear bomb, and arms to the Saudis and perhaps the Turks as well.

Increases in this country's defense budget will also come early on the agenda.

"I think there has been a big change" in the congressional atmosphere, said Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) in an interview last week. "I wouldn't call it a war-minded Congress" as some of his colleagues did, "but it certainly will be a Congress that is security-minded and more so than before Afghanistan."

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), a leading dove, agreed: "Whatever the administration proposes or whatever has administration backing—the B1, neutron bomb, MX missile or whatever—it will go through this Congress with a whoop and a holler." He thinks there will be a big push in Congress to build up the military, reflecting a "regretful return to the Cold War mentality."

Interviews with other available members suggest a strong possibility that congressional preoccupation with national security this year could further squeeze social programs that had tough enough going last year. But it is too early to say with certainty. A year ago Congress was all fired up about forcing a balanced budget. But nothing happened.

Congress was already expecting a \$20 billion increase in the administration's defense budget request and that seems likely to be raised during the year to counter the perceived Soviet threat in the Mideast oil region.

Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee, who was an early opponent of the Vietnam war and an eager hunter of fat in the defense budget, was skeptical of the need for vast new military spending. "The military-industrial complex can always come up with 42 ways to spend more money even though they couldn't use it if they had it," he said. But he expects the pressure to be great.

The Soviet aggression also seems to assure congressional approval of aid to Pakistan on Afghanistan's southern border, arms sales to Saudi Arabia and additional aid if needed to Turkey.

And "if we have to shore up nations like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, we can't make human rights the cornerstone of foreign policy," noted a House staff member. "Defense becomes the main consideration of foreign policy. Afghanistan guarantees a national security consensus and higher defense spending."

Congress had cut off aid to Pakistan because it was developing nuclear weapons. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has scheduled a hearing Tuesday on the administration's \$400 million aid package and plans voting on the first \$200 million of it within a few days.

Just before the end of last session the administration sent Congress, for possible veto, a plan to sell arms to Saudi Arabia, the biggest oil producer in the Mideast.

There was some talk then of disproving it on grounds that if the Saudi government were overthrown this would be throwing more money down a rathole as was the case of arms sold to the deposed shah of Iran. Now the emphasis should shift to the need to help these nations defend themselves.

For more than five years there has been a fierce fight in Congress over aid to Turkey because of that country's invasion of Cyprus with American arms and its dispute with Greece. The embargo on aid to Turkey has been lifted and any request for more aid to this country on the Soviet border would probably have easy going now.

The aggressive move by the Soviets can be expected to help efforts to give the CIA more flexibility in carrying out covert activities. They must now be reported to eight congressional committees. The administration would like to reduce the potential for leaks.

Support for reviving the military draft, or at least registering all draft-age persons so it could be quickly activated if needed, probably will increase in this new climate. But Congress is not likely to vote a military draft in an election year. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) said he would filibuster it.

Proposals will be made to raise military pay and cut it loose from civilian government workers' pay levels.

Soviet moves south near Mideast oil fields are also expected to speed final action on major energy bills by portraying energy more vividly than before as a national security issue. Still locked in House-Senate conference committees are bills to encourage production of alternative energy sources, speed action on new energy projects and tax domestic crude oil.

House and Senate committees will start hearings immediately to take a look at the new picture. The House Foreign Affairs Committee plans hearings next week on Afghanistan and the president's embargo on further grain sales to the Soviet Union in addition to the Pakistan aid package.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will be briefed by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance Monday and plans comprehensive hearings soon on Iran, where a revolutionary regime has held 50 Americans hostage in the U.S. Embassy since Nov. 4.

The Senate Armed Services Committee plans hearings this week on Soviet defense spending and the Senate Energy Committee on the adequacy of oil supplies.

All this seems likely to cost a lot more money at a time when there is heavy sentiment to hold down government spending to fight inflation. If defense spending goes up, spending for social programs must go down or the inflationary deficit grows.

It is the old choice of guns or butter. When Lyndon Johnson decided during the Vietnam war to have both, the budget deficit got out of hand.

But President Carter just recently called for a \$2 billion increase in money to provide youth jobs. Byrd said it should be possible to have both guns and butter "to a certain extent" because the oil tax will bring in a lot of money.

But Rep. James Jones (D-Okla.), who has led the fight to impose spending limits, said the expected increased national security spending provides a stronger argument than before for making choices and not give in to inflationary increased government spending.

CONTINUED

There is also a lot of domestic legislation waiting congressional action. Bills are in final stages, such as standardizing and expanding refugee programs, and may be enacted quickly. Others, such as welfare reform and national health insurance would cost a lot of money and may not make it. The Senate Finance Committee plans to try again to put together a bobtailed health bill to cover costs of catastrophic illness.

Also in conference are bills passed by both bodies to increase price supports on some farm crops and to deregulate the banking industry.

A program of aid to chronically depressed cities is ready for a House vote; as is a bill to help build slurry pipelines to move pulverized coal long distances. The railroads and environmentalists combined for opposite reasons to kill the pipeline bill in the last Congress.

Congress is also expected to take a close look at the Social Security tax structure. Under a law passed two years ago to shore up the Social Security trust fund, both the tax rate and tax base for the levy that finances Social Security benefits will jump next January, costing workers at the top level nearly \$400 a year in additional payments.

There have been proposals to roll back the increase in the rate or to finance part of Social Security, such as health benefits, from general revenues.

BRISTOL HERALD-COURIER (VA.)  
11 JANUARY 1980

## Back To Reality

Much of the nation's problems can be traced back to the virtual "dismantling" of the Central Intelligence Agency as a vital force serving U. S. interests and security throughout the world.

Thoughtful, reasonable people knew then, as now, that the CIA, for all its real and imagined faults, was as important to the country as its armed forces. The do-gooders and the bleeding hearts won the day, however, and the CIA — you could almost hear the cheers ringing from the Kremlin — fell on hard times.

Now, late but perhaps not too late, there are signs that things may be changing; the harsh realities of the world in which we live, evidenced by what has happened and is happening in the Middle East, are stirring second thoughts.

Writers Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, whose column appears in the Bristol Virginia - Tennesseean, give this report:

"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is diminishing the vengeful mood in Congress against the Central Intelligence Agency, with one major change all but certain: the end of a CIA 'charter' to limit the agency's freedom of action.

"Another change gathering surprising support on Capitol Hill would end the absurd system that compels the CIA to clear all clandestine operations with eight

congressional committees. Such widespread distribution of the agency's innermost plans and operations makes secrecy a joke.

"Behind the switch is the Soviet worldwide offensive. Even anti-CIA legislators have noted that when the U. S. is accused of offending a Moslem state, retribution against American embassies is swift. But when Moscow mounts an outright invasion of Moslem Afghanistan, not a single Soviet embassy is seized.

"The reason: Soviet agents control 'the street' in such places as Tehran and Kabul, using undercover agents schooled in manipulating mobs. Since the CIA's hands were tied in 1975, the U. S. cannot compete."

In this context, we think, it is proper to ask: Who really planned the takeover of the U. S. Embassy in Tehran? If the CIA's hands had not been tied, is it possible that neither would those of the Americans held hostage?

And, by the way, where are all those "Jane Fondas" who railed against U. S. involvement in Vietnam? Have they no thoughts at all on Soviet aggression in Afghanistan? On the seizure of our embassy and our citizens in Tehran? On the Vietnam-backed government in Cambodia which is permitting thousands upon thousands to starve? Their silence, we suggest, speaks for them.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-6

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC  
9 JANUARY 1980

### Editorials

## Unshackle The CIA

**W**HAT passes for a government in Iran obviously is crumbling.

The country is engulfed in violence, with Shi'ite Moslems battling Sunni Moslems, with Kurds battling the so-called Revolutionary Guards in the west and Baluchis battling them in the southeast, with Afghans demonstrating against the Soviets and Azerbaijanis demonstrating for autonomy.

The fanatics holding the U.S. Embassy in Tehran say they won't listen to anyone in the government except Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini himself, but Khomeini, suffering from exhaustion, has announced that he won't receive anyone for the next two weeks.

The government accuses "leftovers of American agents" of creating the chaos.

If only the charge were true.

In fact, the Central Intelligence Agency no longer has the capacity to conduct covert operations in Iran or anywhere else in the world.

The Hughes-Ryan amendments effectively preclude them.

The amendments were adopted in the mindless uproar on Capitol Hill that followed the Church committee's disclosure that CIA agents had attempted to destabilize the Marxist government of Salvador Allende in Chile.

Congress decided that what the agents had done was "not cricket." It, therefore,

voted to require the CIA to report any covert activities it might wish to undertake to four House and Senate committees.

The impossibility of reporting anything to four congressional committees and keeping it secret at the same time is obvious.

Now, we are paying a price for the mindlessness that gave us the Hughes-Ryan amendments.

No nation can long exist in turmoil. Sooner or later, some group will emerge from the chaos in Iran to establish law and order.

The way things are going, it could well be a group with allegiance to Moscow.

The Soviets have a well-organized party in Iran, the Tudeh Party. They have a radio station at Baku near the Iranian border, called the National Voice of Iran, which has been pouring Marxist propaganda into the country.

They do not have anything like the Hughes-Ryan amendments to hamstring the KGB.

If the CIA had not been prevented from operating undercover in Iran, it could now be organizing a group to counter the bid for power the communists sooner or later are bound to make.

For that matter, it could also be training and arming the Moslem tribesmen fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Maybe this sort of thing is not cricket, but the world is not a cricket field.

HERALD-WHIG (QUINCY, ILL.)

3 JANUARY 1980

# The intelligence gap

Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet president, claims Soviet troops are in Afghanistan to protect it from an "outside threat." Moscow also claims the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been training the Afghan rebels who have been fighting Soviet soldiers and soldiers of the Soviet-supported Afghanistan government.

President Carter says Brezhnev "lied" about the existence of an outside threat to Afghanistan's territorial integrity, but as far as any CIA involvement—or other assistance to dissident Afghans—U.S. officials decline to comment.

Such silence could be construed to mean that the CIA has indeed been involved. It could also be, on the basis of the CIA's recent track-record, that the CIA is incapable of involvement and these officials wish to avoid admitting it.

Some Americans may find satisfaction in that latter possibility. They shouldn't.

Among the notable events of the last decade were investigations of the intelligence agencies, and mainly of the CIA, by the Senate and a presidential commission appointed by President Ford. These investigations followed the disclosure in 1974 that the CIA had illegally spied on American citizens and revealed that the CIA had in years past been involved in drug experiments on unwitting victims, conspiracies to overthrow constitutionally elected governments and efforts to assassinate at least five foreign leaders. In January of 1978, President Carter issued guidelines to tighten executive control of the intelligence community.

In August of 1978, the CIA told Mr. Carter that Iran was "not in a revolutionary or even a pre-revolutionary situation." Earlier that year, it had been decided it would not be worthwhile to update the CIA's 1975 intelligence estimate on Iran. In September, as demonstrations against the Shah of Iran become more fervent, the shah declared martial law. In December, as the demonstrations continued, Mr. Carter told a news conference, "I fully expect the shah to maintain power..." In January the shah fled.

In August of 1979, it was discovered that some Soviet troops in Cuba had been organized into a combat unit several years earlier—without detection by American intelligence. This discovery led to the question of whether the United States is able to monitor Soviet compliance with a second strategic arms limitation treaty.

Together, events in Iran and Cuba—and Afghanistan—now raise the more fundamental question: Does the United States any longer have an adequate intelligence capability?

In rectifying the excesses of the CIA—and they were excesses—through public exposure and bringing the agency back under strict executive control, has the United States left itself open to attack and abuse by those seeking to take any advantage of our exercise in righteousness? Writing last month in the *Washington Post*, George Ball, a former undersecretary of State, asserted, "While emasculating the CIA, we wallowed so masochistically in the disclosure of its wickedness...that we have created the impression not only that the agency is guilty of every misdeed but also that it is 20 feet tall, with almost magical capabilities for evil."

So, although the CIA is unable to detect impending revolution in Iran, the Soviet government can use it as one excuse for invading Afghanistan. It is, perhaps, our own perception of the CIA's weakness that makes the Soviet argument seem so transparent.

It is a hostile world. Even without the deliberate expansion of Soviet military strength in the last two decades it would be so. The United States government must have the ability to gather, sort and analyze information from around the world that permits it to make intelligent foreign policy decisions. It cannot in fact afford to rule out entirely a "covert" capability—the capability to intervene in the national security interest when there is a choice between all-out war and doing nothing at all.

For nearly a year, the Senate and the Carter administration have been working on a new charter for the intelligence community. It is a complex undertaking, but apparently agreement was near when the American Embassy in Tehran was seized on November 4. That event, the effect of which is now complicated by the invasion of Afghanistan, and the coming presidential election make it almost certain no action will be taken in 1980.

It is to be hoped that one effect of this probable delay is a charter that takes a more realistic view of intelligence requirements than otherwise might have been the case.



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE K-6

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER  
20 January 1980

## *Letters to the editor*

### **Outrages**

To the Editor:

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan is an obvious moral outrage, just as our support of the shah of Iran was an obvious moral outrage. The politicians in this country are now praising the brave freedom fighters in Afghanistan. The same politicians said not a word when the shah was having hundreds of unarmed protesters shot in the streets.

The politicians are strongly condemning the Russians for their intervention in the affairs of a smaller nation. They want to let the CIA loose again. Have they forgotten how the CIA had the elected government in Chile overthrown? The CIA secret war in Laos? The CIA-backed invasion of Cuba and attempted murders of Castro? How in South Vietnam the CIA threw thousands of suspected Communists out of airplanes, etc.?

There seems to be no moral difference between our foreign policy and that of the Soviet Union. We support right-wing dictators who torture and murder those who speak out for freedom and democracy. In Latin America, many priests and nuns are turning to communism because of the atrocities committed by these dictators.

The politicians like to say we are the defenders of freedom and democracy. The truth is that in many countries, we are the defenders of American business interests.

ROBERT DILKES

Woodbury, N.J.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 5

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION  
18 January 1980

### Pulse Of The Public

#### CIA Role

ELLJAY — Reference "What Role For The CIA?" (Hal Gulliver, Jan. 2.)

Cloak, not dagger. Intelligence, yes. We must have trained ears open at every significant listening post, but the esprit de corps of our agents must be one that stresses objectivity, hard news, unslanted.

The duties of the CIA should be discussed within the context of its relationship to the National Security Council and in intensive review of our foreign policy since 1898. There are those who say that we have already come out of the Vietnam syndrome. I doubt that we can without going back to Truman and the OSS, if not all the way back to Woodrow Wilson and Ho Chi Minh.

There are many instances of our interference in the affairs of other governments that demand explanation. Was Mossadegh a Russian puppet or an Iranian socialist who preferred democracy to the tyranny of the shah? Why did we lose Castro, not Cuba, but Castro? Would a Bosch government in the Dominican Republic have led to a Russian base in the West Indies? What was our role in the overthrow of Allende and the gains and losses, therefrom?

If a great nation is big enough to admit error and start over it will become bigger and lose its syndromes. It is high time for a white paper, not a whitewash. Recognizing that impartiality is impossible, I would suggest a team like Dean Rusk, the staunch defender, and Daniel Ellsberg, the demon researcher. They would have to agree on an eminent historian to resolve their differences.

LEE S. SETTEL

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 14

THE BOSTON GLOBE  
18 January 1980

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Beef up the CIA

At this time, as a nation, we should realize that athletic teams as well as competitive businesses have never won the contest without first knowing a little of the opposition's game plan. Why is our government any different?

Our problems in Iran and our recent surprises in Afghanistan prove one thing: the politicians in Washington who shouted down and throttled the CIA and FBI over the past few years have led us to this situation.

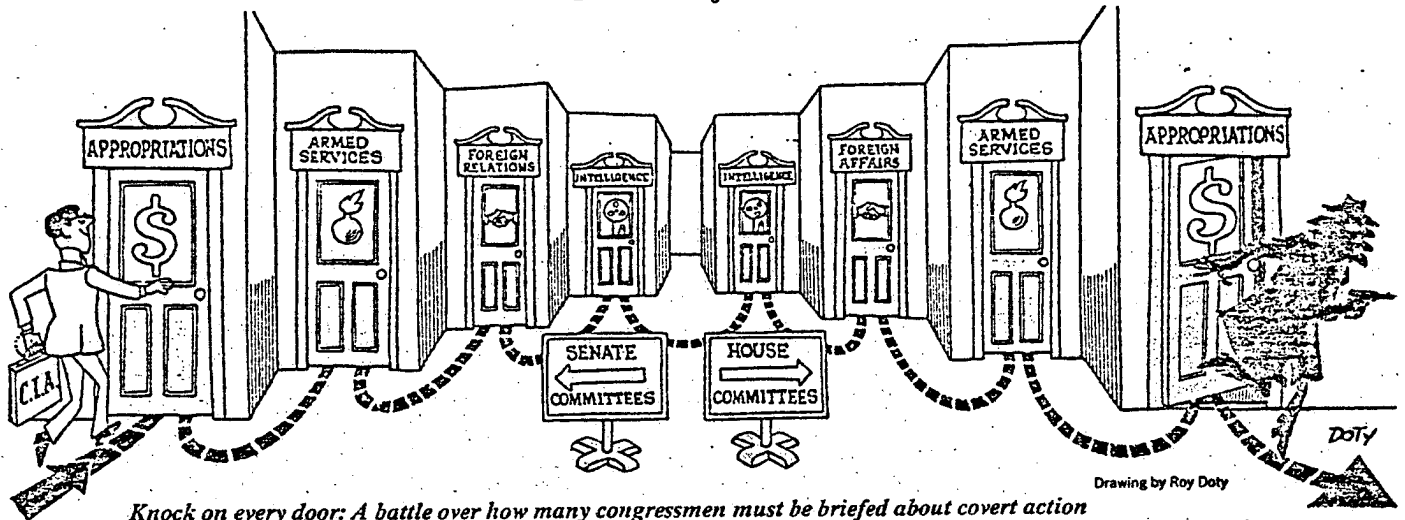
The situation has been worsened by an Administration that feels we should be nice to everyone.

To become a strong world power again, with not only respect from our world neighbors but some clout with the same neighbors, we must know what they are doing and where they are going at all times. The simple fact of the matter is that now we don't know.

Put some teeth in the CIA and FBI. Our elected people in Washington should know what's going on in the capitals of the world, and what's going on in our own country that affects the world picture.

C. R. WILSON

Lowell

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 31-32NEWSWEEK  
28 January 1980

*Knock on every door: A battle over how many congressmen must be briefed about covert action*

## UNSHACKLING THE CIA

Could some secret plan by the Central Intelligence Agency have blocked the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan? Could an All-American James Bond have saved the Shah's throne in Iran, or at least prevented the taking of U.S. hostages? Not very likely. But with the U.S. on the defensive in trouble spots around the world, the CIA is fast regaining favor in Washington. Agency supporters are demanding that the CIA be "unshackled" and permitted wider latitude for covert operations. The new get-tough mood comes just when Congress is considering a new charter for the CIA—and a major fight is brewing over how much oversight Congress should have on CIA plans for covert activity around the world.

At the heart of the debate is the 1974 Hughes-Ryan amendment, which requires the President to approve in detail most CIA plans for covert operations. It also provides that eight Senate and House committees—with a total of more than 200 members—be informed of such operations in advance or soon after they get under way. The amendment was passed after dramatic disclosures about CIA "destabilization" plots against Chile and secret political intervention. Critics of the amendment now say it poses too great a risk of dangerous security leaks and thus has a "chilling effect" on covert action—the gray area that goes beyond diplomacy but stops short of open warfare. Informing so many Congressional committees, says one senior White House aide, is tantamount to "making a formal announcement in Lafayette Park." As a result, says another Administration security expert, "you don't even contemplate certain ideas because you have to share them with lots of people whose motives you're not sure of."

Friendly foreign intelligence agencies are also deeply concerned. CIA

director Stansfield Turner claims that on at least one occasion, an allied intelligence service "withdrew a proposal for a joint action . . . beneficial to both nations" because of the Hughes-Ryan reporting requirements.

**KNEE JERK:** The White House wants to change the disclosure requirements of the law and make them part of the new CIA charter pending in Congress. The changes would limit CIA briefings to the House and Senate intelligence committees—which have only 27 members. The proposed new charter would also broaden the scope of covert operations that could be carried on without specific Presidential approval. "At one point, people wanted to write scores and scores of restraints," says one White House aide. "It was a knee-jerk reaction [to] all the abuses . . . a very important application of checks and balances. But now we need to put more balance into the checks."

Not everyone agrees. Among those most

strongly opposed to tampering with Hughes-Ryan are some members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who see covert action as an extension of their foreign-policy responsibilities. Under the present system, "the responsible agencies are being made to act responsibly," says one committee source. "The Foreign Relations Committee is familiar enough with exotic operations to be able to ask the right questions. . . . There is no eagerness here to be cut out of the conduit." What's more, many congressmen are outraged at the idea that they are leak-prone—especially when a number of serious intelligence leaks in recent years may very well have come from sources in the executive branch.

**PRESSURE:** Yet in the supercharged mood created by Iran and Afghanistan, some easing of the requirement for Congressional briefings is probably inevitable. What worries Senate Intelligence Committee chairman Birch Bayh and others is that other needed reforms will be lost along the way. "There is pressure to push ahead rapidly and that might mean having to set aside some of the important provisions of a charter in the interests of giving the agency more latitude," said Kentucky Democrat Walter D. Huddleston, chairman of the intelligence subcommittee working on the new legislation. "But I would hate to have that happen because it would be awfully difficult to come back and win a full charter."

Aside from modifying rules on covert action, the proposed charter would put strict limits on intelligence operations targeted on U.S. citizens, and it would bar the CIA from hiring journalists, clergymen or academics as agents. On the other hand, one version of the charter would also limit the CIA's obligations under the Federal Freedom of Information Act; the CIA would have to respond only when U.S. citizens were seeking personal information about themselves. At present, the CIA must answer queries from foreigners as well—including, recently, the Polish

Huddleston (left) and Bayh: Memories of past abuses



CONTINUED

Embassy in Washington. "If the KGB were to write us [for information], we would be required to respond in ten days," gripes deputy director Frank C. Carlucci.

If Congress changes the Hughes-Ryan disclosure amendment without passing a new CIA charter, liberals say there won't be enough safeguards against the abuses of the past. "The danger is obvious," said one Senate source. "We could slip easily back into the kind of loose, indifferent oversight that several years ago made a handful of senators mere tools of the Central Intelli-

gence Agency." Even Sen. Jake Garn of Utah, a conservative Republican, agrees that Hughes-Ryan should not be eliminated without a charter of some sort to take its place. "I have spoken with officials of the CIA and the FBI, among others, and they would like such guidelines just for their own protection if nothing else," Garn says. But other legislators, especially in the House, are wary in an election year of supporting any charter that can be criticized as further hobbling U.S. intelligence.

**PLOT:** If opponents of Hughes-Ryan and supporters of a charter cannot get together on reforms agreeable to both, the CIA will be

stuck with the status quo—although a more militant public mood may well make the agency's multitude of Congressional overseers more amenable to proposals for covert action. But covert action itself is not "a panacea," warns one White House aide. "Even if we get everything we want, there won't be a secret magic wand the CIA is going to wave and make all our problems go away." Indeed, it was a CIA plot that put the Shah in power—and left a legacy of bitterness for the militants who finally overthrew him and took control of the U.S. Embassy.

DAVID M. ALPERN with DAVID C. MARTIN and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington

## A SPY OUT IN THE COLD

CIA agents see him as a traitor—a threat to national security and possibly to their own lives. His books on the CIA's inner workings have exposed hundreds of undercover agents worldwide. Britain, France and the Netherlands have expelled him as a security risk. Last month, he proposed to Iranian militants that they release the American hostages in exchange for CIA documents—and U.S. officials feared he might even turn up at any hostage trial to finger some embassy staffers as spies. So, in desperation, the State Department has revoked the passport of former CIA official Philip Agee. Last week, attorneys for Agee, who lives in West Germany, went to Federal court in Washington to try to get it back.

The State Department lifted Agee's passport under a rarely used national-security rule in the U.S. passport regulations. Agee's activities, charges Under Secretary of State David D. Newsom, "have endangered the lives and well-being of many U.S. employees." For now, Agee's attorneys are arguing only that the move is illegal—that Congress never authorized the security rule. If that fails, they will try to show that his work poses no security threat. "Frankly, we think his activities improve the nation's security," says Agee's attorney Melvin L. Wulf. "Anything that increases public knowledge of the CIA's clandestine activities contributes to world peace."

**SMEAR:** How dangerous is Agee? The agent-turned-accusateur says he aspires to be a Communist, and he is clearly out to sabotage some CIA operations. His 1975 book, "Inside the Company: CIA Diary," jeopardized many agents, critics charge. His 1978 book, "Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe," contains a list of alleged CIA officers worldwide; Agee and his associates regularly update it in their Covert Action Information Bulletin. CIA officials concede that the lists are fairly accurate, though they say the names aren't news to hostile governments. When he's wrong, company men add, he damages bona fide diplomats by smearing them as spies.

CIA officials say Agee learned the names in "CIA Diary"

during his own twelve years in the agency—but that his recent works contain information he could not have learned on his own. Agee's associates at the Bulletin say their information comes mostly from published sources. It's not hard to spot possible agents through telltale patterns in the State Department's Biographic Register and the Foreign Service List. State stopped publishing those lists in 1976, and Agee's associates say they rely on tips for names of agents who signed on after that. Charges one agent: "I have little doubt that he keeps pretty close ties with the other side."

Agee denies rumors that he has ties to Cuban or Soviet intelligence networks. "I am my own person," he insists. And he claims last month's report that he would participate in a hostage trial was "a CIA plant—an excuse to take my passport." Still, Agee says he will continue pressing his plan to swap CIA secrets for the hostages. Some good may yet come of the Tehran embassy take-over, he says, "if it motivates people to learn why all this has happened." Though Agee thinks the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan was "a mistake," he finds the new regime there "not so threatening to the West and world peace as President Carter would have the world believe." A Communist regime, he maintains, might bring about land reform and redistribution of wealth in Afghanistan.

Agee intends to continue exposing CIA operations and is currently writing a book on the

agency's alleged efforts to harass him. But he will find his work difficult without a passport. If the U.S. district court refuses to return his papers, Agee's West German residency permit will also be invalid and his travel severely curtailed. Yet West German officials seem in no hurry to deport him. His recent marriage to a prominent Hamburg ballerina, Giselle Roberge, will work in his favor should he apply for asylum. But before granting Agee permanent residence, Hamburg officials say they would have to weigh what reprisals would await him if he were returned to the U.S.—just as they would for any other defector.

MELINDA BECK with FREDERICK KEMPE in Bonn and DAVID C. MARTIN and ELAINE SHANNON in Washington



Susan T. McElhinney—Newsweek

*Agee in Cuba in 1978: Is he a national-security risk?*

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-11

NEW YORK TIMES  
21 JANUARY 1980

# Congress Reconvening as Both Houses Prepare to Debate Defense Issues

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 — The 96th Congress, which is to reconvene on Tuesday, is expected to be dominated by foreign policy and military issues in the aftermath of the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan and the continuing crisis in Iran.

Congressional leaders have predicted that those recent developments will affect a broad range of programs, including United States military and intelligence capabilities, foreign aid, the energy package, farm legislation and the Federal budget.

Both houses are expected to plunge immediately into foreign policy issues.

On opening day, both the House and Senate are scheduled to consider legislation granting most-favored-nation trade status to China. That is expected to be but a prelude to a full-scale Congressional debate on foreign policy and military goals, to be touched off by President Carter's State of the Union message on Wednesday.

The President is expected to enunciate a new doctrine for United States-Soviet relations, which in turn will become the focal point of a debate that is expected to continue through the session as Congress seeks to redefine foreign and military policies.

"There's no doubt that the events of the last two months are going to have an impact on the course of things throughout this session," Senator Robert C. Byrd, the majority leader, said in an interview.

The West Virginia Democrat added that consideration of a strategic arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union — the business that was pending before the Senate when it recessed in late December — was in "cold storage, for a while at least," because of the Soviet moves in Afghanistan. "They certainly have poisoned the atmosphere," the Senator said.

Senators with views as disparate as George McGovern of South Dakota, Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York agreed on the likelihood of a full-dress airing of foreign and military policies.

In the House, Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the majority leader, said that in the new session "Defense matters will be somewhat dominant" and

that he expected "a strengthening of resolve" on military and energy matters.

Representative Clement J. Zablocki, Democrat of Wisconsin and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said that three subcommittees would soon begin hearings on recent events in southwest Asia and the Middle East.

The politics of a Presidential election year is also expected to affect the Congressional session. The entire House and one-third of the Senate are up for re-election in November.

One issue is whether Congress and the President can reach a new consensus on foreign and military policies, replacing the divisions that have existed since the end of the Vietnam War. Last year, the Administration acknowledged that it lacked such a consensus for an arms limitation treaty.

Some Republicans, however, question whether President Carter will seek bipartisan support for his new foreign policy initiatives. "That's within the President's reach, if that's what he wants," said Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland. "But it will take a determined effort."

Expected increases in foreign aid and military spending at the expense of domestic programs are also expected to provide grist for election campaigns. "Where the cuts come from will be the subject of some debate in an election year," Senator Mathias predicted.

Members of Congress say they expect the Administration to propose more military assistance to the Arab world, which may further erode President Carter's support among Jews in the United States. The President is considering \$400 million in military and economic aid for Pakistan, and has requested increased arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Congress is also expected to debate the continued wisdom of the Symington Act, which bars assistance to nations that do

not conform to the United States' policy of nuclear nonproliferation.

The nation's intelligence capability is expected to be debated in hearings on a proposed charter for the Central Intelligence Agency, which is now regulated by Presidential executive order. The present executive order is regarded as more stringent than some charter proposals.

## Few Domestic Initiatives

On domestic legislation, few initiatives are expected. The emphasis will be on completing legislation begun last year, while supporters of domestic programs seek to hold the line against inevitable reductions in available funds.

Four energy bills are in House-Senate conferences. They concern a "windfall" profits tax, an energy mobilization board, development of synthetic fuels and the authorization legislation for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

National health insurance legislation is also expected to come before both the House and Senate. The House passed a modified hospital cost-containment bill and a child health bill, and is holding hearings on catastrophic health insurance legislation. All this legislation is now pending in Senate committees.

An effort to reduce the Social Security tax has gained momentum in both the House and Senate, but supporters of the tax argue that the funds are needed to keep the program afloat. Senator Gaylord Nelson, Democrat of Wisconsin, has scheduled hearings on the matter.

Other unfinished domestic issues expected to be considered this year include changes in welfare and regulatory legislation, counter-cyclical legislation and an extension of the Federal revenue sharing program. Some form of aid for American farmers, to offset the partial embargo on grain to the Soviet Union, is also expected.

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AFGHANISTAN

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NEW YORK TIMES  
24 JANUARY 1980

## ***U.S. Is Told Soviet Uses Poison Gas on Afghans***

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 — United States intelligence sources said today that they had reports that Soviet forces had used a lethal chemical vapor in their campaign to subdue insurgents in Afghanistan.

The sources cited five instances in which the vapor was allegedly used, saying their information came from Afghan Army defectors and refugees. Intelligence officials said they believed the reports because North Vietnamese used the same chemical in Laos under the supervision of specialists from the Soviet Union, which supplied it.

American officials said they had not accused the Soviet Union publicly of using the chemical, which probably violated international agreements to which the Soviet Union is a party, because they lacked firsthand evidence, such as samples.

The poison is dropped from an airplane or helicopter in a cannister or bomb that explodes in the air. When inhaled, it induces hard breathing, vomiting, excretion, paralysis and finally death.

Intelligence sources said the first reported use of the vapor in Afghanistan was last summer, when Soviet advisers were with Afghan Army troops fighting insurgents in the mountains northeast of Kabul. Last week the United States received information on four more cases, one northeast of Kabul, two to the east and one to the west. The number of casualties was not known.



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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
23 January 1980

## US shaping anti-Soviet response

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The United States is seeking to weave a protective, worldwide network of response to the Soviet threat in southern Asia.

Part of this response involves immediate military moves, such as the well-advertised Jan. 21 patrol flights by long-range US Air Force B-52 bombers over vital Western shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean.

Another part is upgrading the few military facilities the US now can use in this part of the world. New funds in the coming fiscal 1981 defense budget would further develop the air base and port installations on the British island of Diego Garcia, in the mid-Indian Ocean.

If a team from the US State and Defense Departments (now working out details) is successful, American ships and aircraft soon may be able to use facilities in Oman, at the entrance to the Gulf oil reservoir; in Somalia, on the Indian Ocean, and in Kenya — if the price of supporting these countries against hostile neighbors (in the Somalia-Kenya case, each other) is not too high.

Major US Navy exercises, with allied warships participating in some of them, are under way in the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and the eastern Pacific. Elements of the future US rapid deployment force, including airborne Army troops and tactical air units, are testing the Panama Canal's defense systems.

Spurred by intelligence reports that Soviet forces in Afghanistan include units with chemical and biological warfare potential, the US Army now plans to request funds for a plant to produce binary chemical weapons and a start on actual production of nerve gas shells in 1981.

Research on lasers and directed particle beams as weapons, bigger and more deadly nuclear warheads, and anti-satellite weapons for future space warfare all are expected to have a place in the fiscal



US Army photo

1981 defense budget, soon to be unveiled by Defense Secretary Harold Brown.

In the private Allied Interdependence newsletter of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), defense analysts propose that allied planning — among the US, Canada, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand — now must quickly be extended to solid defense cooperation in every field, including creation of an inter-allied "common market" for basic defense industries.

"If America's Atlantic and Pacific allies were equitably and collectively sharing the financial burdens of defending Europe, defending the Pacific, and defending the energy lifelines in between," says the CSIS study, "total allied military expenditures would be 47 percent less than the Warsaw Pact," instead of only slightly greater with the US carrying the main burden.

A limited-circulation Pentagon report by Dr. Ellen L. Frost, a deputy assistant secretary of defense, urges the total pooling of allied defense resources in a "common market for defense equipment."

Dr. Frost's paper says that the allied cooperation now being sought in the areas of weapons systems and use of bases should be extended to areas such as aircraft, missile, and gun manufacturing, where she finds an "unwillingness of the European nations and their governments to assume their proper share of conventional warfare defense preparedness."

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-6WASHINGTON STAR (RED LINE)  
23 JANUARY 1980

# Use of Gas by Soviets In Afghanistan Hinted

Associated Press

U.S. intelligence sources say there are indications the Soviets may have used deadly nerve gas against anti-Marxist rebels in five areas of Afghanistan.

The sources, who declined to be identified, said the evidence is not conclusive enough to permit an open accusation by the United States.

But they said U.S. intelligence specialists give credence to descriptions provided by a number of Afghan refugees, including a defecting army officer.

This development comes less than a week after U.S. intelligence sources reported that the Soviet army had brought chemical decontaminating equipment into Afghanistan.

According to the new reports, the gas apparently was contained in bombs that were dropped from airplanes and burst in the air, spewing the gas.

This vapor caused vomiting, breathing difficulties, bowel eruptions, blindness, paralysis and then death, the sources said. There was no estimate of the number of deaths.

U.S. specialists said the effects, as described by the Afghan refugees, correspond to known results from a Soviet nerve agent called Soman. They believe the same kind of nerve gas was used against Laotian tribesmen resisting Communist forces in Southeast Asia.

One intelligence report suggests the lethal agent was used against Afghan rebel tribesmen as early as last August or September in the Panjshir

Valley northeast of Kabul. Russian advisers were serving with the Afghan army at that time, although the full-scale Soviet army movement into Afghanistan did not come until late last month.

Sources said the other four incidents reportedly occurred last week near Faizabad and in Takhar Province, both in northeast Afghanistan where rebel resistance has been stiff; in Bamian Province, west of Kabul; and near Jalalabad, which lies close to Pakistan.

In telling the AP about sightings of Soviet chemical decontamination equipment in Afghanistan, U.S. specialists suggested it might be used to clean up affected areas so they could be occupied by Soviet or Afghan government troops after a gas attack.

Gen. David Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told Congress about a year ago that, under Soviet military doctrine, "the basic principle is to achieve surprise by using massive quantities of chemical agents against unprotected troops or against equipment or on terrain to deny its use."

U.S. intelligence sources said the Soviet troops in Afghanistan are equipped with FROG battlefield missiles, which they said can be used to hurl chemical warheads as well as either high-explosive or nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile, Carter administration sources reported yesterday that thousands of Soviet bureaucrats have moved into Afghanistan to run the government, and East German intelligence agents are helping to operate the security system.

## *Soviet Forces Said to Tighten Hold In Afghanistan and to Move Freely*

By DREW MIDDLETON

The Soviet forces in Afghanistan, now estimated at about 85,000 soldiers and airmen, have tightened their grip on the country, control all major cities and towns and are reported to be moving convoys without serious difficulty by road. In some areas they have replaced units of the rapidly disintegrating Afghan Army, according to officials in Washington and military analysts in allied capitals.

The analysts said, in support of a report in The Sunday Times of London, that over the last four weeks about 4,000 Soviet administrators, including a large number of K.G.B. security officers, have been flown into Afghanistan to direct the reorganization of the government bureaucracy.

Reports, which could not be confirmed in Washington but which appear to reflect the pattern of Russian deployment, said that at least 6,000 Soviet troops are concentrated in and around the southern Afghan city of Kandahar, which is 54 miles from the Pakistan frontier. A buildup of forces is also said to be continuing at Herat, Farah and Sindhbad within striking distance of the Iranian border.

Three Soviet divisions, according to Chinese sources, are on the frontier between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The military consensus is that these divisions will be used to replace Afghan forces that have deserted.

### **Afghan Units Replaced**

Some replacement of Afghan units by Soviet troops already has taken place. Military analysts say they believe that further substitutions will have to be made in view of the crumbling of the Afghan Army, which three months ago numbered 80,000 men. The present estimate is that it fields no more than 45,000 effective soldiers.

Some of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and on the frontier have reportedly been drawn from military districts in the Soviet Union, but none are said to have been plucked from the Soviet garrisons in Eastern Europe.

Reports from the Afghanistan area indicate that the Soviet reinforcement is being carried out by air because of heavy snowfalls throughout the country. Western diplomats in Kabul report a shuttle of transports into the airfield with landings at 10-minute intervals in the daylight hours. The great majority of the transports carry infantry.

A British estimate is that the Russians have no need of additional armor. There are now believed to be 1,750 tanks and approximately 2,100 armored personnel carriers in the country. Soviet air strength was put at about 400 combat aircraft, fighters and fighter-bombers, and about 200 helicopters.

### **A Facade of Unity**

Atlantic alliance intelligence sources say that Afghan rebels are moving toward at least a facade of unity under the pressure of Soviet military consolidation.

Correspondents in the country point out that the Afghan tribes, particularly those along the country's eastern and northeastern frontiers, live by the law of "blood for blood." But, according to a British military source with long experience in the country, their military effectiveness is doubtful unless they can be united under a single command.

Seven rebel groups are negotiating in Peshawar, Pakistan, with the aim of forming a united force. Reuters reports that an agreement in principle has been reached but that details must still be worked out. Western sources said that it is the details, especially the areas to be occupied by individual clans, that have been a perennial stumbling block.

State Department sources put Soviet losses in Afghanistan since the intervention began during the last week of December at approximately 2,000 men killed, wounded and missing. Some analysts in this country and abroad considered the figure exaggerated. It does not correspond, they said, to verifiable accounts of fighting between Afghan rebels and Soviet troops.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 70-72THE NATION  
26 January 1980

## ■ ARC OF OVERREACTION

Wrong Moves on  
Afghanistan

FRED HALLIDAY

Afghanistan is not, as President Carter would have us believe, "the greatest threat to world peace since 1945." Nor, as his pugnacious adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski is quoted in *Time* as saying, is it "a watershed event." It has, however, been the occasion for some of the most undiluted irresponsibility and crass demagoguery on the part of a U.S. Administration for many a long year. And the U.S. response—rushing to shore up a crew of petty tyrants and religious obscurantists in West Asia—has sowed the seeds of new international crises in the future. The Russians don't need to do anything to take advantage of their position in Afghanistan to weaken the West's position in the "arc of crisis": they just have to sit back, as they did in Iran, and let the West hang itself.

Looking beyond the confusion of immediate events, we should understand several general propositions. First, the Russian intervention in Afghanistan does not represent any change in international strategy on their part. Afghanistan is a country that has, since 1955, been militarily dependent on the U.S.S.R. It is a country that borders the U.S.S.R. And, since April 1978, there has been a Soviet-backed regime in that country. The Russians intervened because the regime of the incumbent President Hafizullah Amin was tottering. He was responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent people, and incapable of reaching any settlement of the country's problems. No one would have thanked the Russians for not intervening: i.e., for keeping Amin in power. And there is no way, given the international balance of power, that the Russians could have abandoned the country altogether to a triumphant horde of Moslem insurgents, who would, in all likelihood, have fallen to fighting one another for years to come. It was the internal situation in Afghanistan itself that dictated the Russian intervention, a situation which, as I explained in an earlier *Nation* article (see Halliday, "Afghanistan—A Revolution Consumes Itself," November 17, 1979), the Russians were certainly to blame in having brought about. Their desire was to stabilize a situation that had spiraled out of control, not to make some further strategic advance. Russia does not have a

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detailed "grand strategy," and insofar as it has a single overarching policy, it is what it has been since 1920: namely, to support revolutionary governments where it can. Afghanistan marks no break in that policy.

To be sure, the regional repercussions of the intervention cannot be particularly welcome to the Russians. In Iran it has deflected the fury of Moslem indignation away from where it had, in Moscow's eyes, conveniently been located—on the United States. The position of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party has been seriously compromised. The talk about the Russians using Afghanistan as a steppingstone is thus strategic whimsy. The last way to have influenced Iran was to invade Afghanistan. Nor are the Russians making some major thrust for Persian Gulf oil. Apart from their production difficulties, they still have the largest oil output of any country in the world—12.4 million barrels a day. And all the rhetoric about "warm-water ports" is overblown. Obviously, the Russians would not refuse an unconditional offer of a warm-water port any more than the Americans would, but they already have such facilities in Aden, and these ports have a lot less significance than they used to have in a premissile age.

At this juncture, the Russians are not planning a permanent military annexation of Afghanistan. Nor will they become involved in a "Vietnam-style situation." The Russians appear to be intent on staying long enough to buy time for the new regime to build itself up, and in particular to reconstruct the army and the administration. They know that the mountain tribes will fight if they think the Government is weak, and will be much less likely to do so if the Government is strong. It is in this psychological-political dimension, rather than in purely military terms, that the numerical weight of the Russian involvement must be evaluated. This massive presence does of course entail the risk of a major nationalist counterreaction, and the Russians are certainly disliked. But they will do all they can, with arms and economic inducements, to build up a strong new Afghan Army, and although the rebellion will take some years to be reduced, the Russians would hope progressively to hand over internal security to this new army while continuing their long-standing supply of arms, equipment and officers. For their part, the rebels would have to transform their whole mode of social organization if they were to sustain a protracted and large-scale war against the Government forces. The reasons why it is not another Vietnam follow from this: unlike the National Liberation Front, which was organized by a political party and had a coherent revolutionary ideology, the rebels are divided among themselves and cannot sustain the kind of military struggle needed to undermine permanently the Russian forces. One cannot help feeling that, beyond the obvious *Schadenfreude* of seeing the Russians in trouble, Americans who use the Vietnam analogy are trying to debase their former foes, to equate the Marxist guerrillas of the Mekong Delta with the ultraconservative tribesmen of the Hindu Kush. If one adds to this the facts that: (1) the Afghan mountains offer little cover and are therefore vulnerable to helicopters and fighter planes, (2) the Russian supply lines are incom-

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parably shorter, and (3) domestic opposition is unable to emerge in the U.S.S.R. as it did in the United States, then the Vietnam analogy falls to the ground.

Brzezinski has hinted that the United States might offer aid to the rebels. The Russians claim that the West is already doing this, in league with the conservative Arab states and China. Who would the United States be helping if it did? And is there any truth in the Russian allegations? Whatever the brutalities of the Afghan Revolutionary Government, and they have been many, there is no doubt that the guerrillas have engaged in equally barbarous practices—skinning captured prisoners alive, killing women and children, shooting Government supporters on sight. Moreover, whereas the Government has tried to put through modernizing reforms designed to alleviate the appalling poverty of the country (average per capita income in 1977, \$135; infant mortality rate, 269 per 1,000; literacy, 5 percent), the rebels have systematically opposed land reforms and attempts to minimize the bride price as threats to their way of life. One of the leading parties, the Islam Party, openly states in its constitution that it will enforce the veiling and seclusion of women. Moreover, as British cameraman Nick Downie, who just returned from four months in rebel territory, reported, the rebels are extremely divided and interested mainly in loot: there are at least nine rebel parties, each quarreling with the others. With a Kalashnikov rifle fetching \$1,600 in the bazaars of neighboring Pakistan, i.e., more than eleven times the average Afghan annual income, the rewards of gunrunning are great. Added to this is the fact that in the center and north of the country rebels from suppressed minorities such as the Hazara and Tajiks are now operating: any attempt by the main rebels in the dominant Pushtun areas of the country to reimpose their discriminatory system would only lead to another round of civil war. The people whom Brzezinski is now talking of aiding are therefore primitive fundamentalist Moslem tribesmen, who make Khomeini look like a graduate student at M.I.T.

The Russian charge of foreign intervention is certainly larded with lies; yet there has been substantial foreign interference, and without it the rebellion would never have reached the scale it has. Pakistan offers a haven not only to 350,000 refugees but also to the military training camps from which the rebels operate. Pakistani militia units participated in cross-border attacks in early 1979, and since that time substantial Chinese aid has come to the guerrillas. The Chinese have officers in camps of Sayed Ahmad Gailani's National Islamic Front at Chitral and Miranshah, and quantities of Chinese weapons have been captured from Tajik rebels in the northeastern Badakhshan Province. Iran, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, all rightist Moslem regimes opposed to the Kabul Government's reforms, have provided financial support to the rebels. There is no evidence as yet of substantial U.S. involvement, and the Russian claim

that Hafizullah Amin was a Central Intelligence agent is a brazen lie, presumably designed to inflame Afghan nationalist suspicion.

Nonetheless, the strategic response of the United States has not only been egregious but will in the long run cause serious problems for Carter. The Russians must already have calculated that the bedraggled Carter White House was incapable of proceeding in a businesslike way to put through SALT II and unduly preoccupied by what Moscow sees as a rather trivial matter—the Teheran hostages affair. Incapable of reining in the chauvinism loosed in the United States, Carter was no longer a serious bargaining partner for the U.S.S.R. His provocative handling of the cruise missile affair and his further increase in defense spending made him even less so. Some of the apparent “costs” of the Afghan intervention had therefore already been paid.

At the same time, the U.S. response has led it to reinforce its links with a number of highly suspect allies in Asia who may, over the next months and years, cause it as many headaches as the Shah of Iran. In his *Time* interview, Brzezinski said, “China is a factor for stability in Asia and contributes to great restraint by all parties”—a rather hypocritical statement, given China's invasion of Vietnam, its cynical support for the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and its military assistance to Afghan rebels. The other allies on whom the United States has now bestowed renewed favor are a group of central-casting despots, none of whom is in the best of political health. President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan is a religious fanatic, hated by much of his country, incapable of preventing the burning down of the U.S. Embassy recently, and an outspoken admirer of the United States' favorite cleric, Ayatollah Khomeini. Despite large infusions of Saudi money in return for Pakistani military deployment inside Saudi Arabia, no one can give the dapper General a secure future. The Saudis have never distinguished themselves in the field of human rights; in their country striking workers have been beheaded on the spot and adulteresses are stoned to death, and the recent outbreaks of resistance in two sensitive areas—the Grand Mosque of Mecca and the Aramco oilfields—do not say much for their stability. The Sultan of Oman, another proposed ally, is a ruler so arrogant that he dispenses with the normal “consultative” tribal assemblies favored by other Arabian monarchs, has allowed much of his oil revenues to be pocketed by his grasping relatives and associates, and has, since 1971, relied on a secret C.I.A. subsidy to his intelligence service to keep a watch on his British-officered army. A year ago U.S. State Department officials thought he might fall within twelve months; he is still there, thanks in part to the reassurance of new oil deposits, but opposition among educated and middle-class Omanis is growing and rebels in the southern Dhofar Province have recently started operating militarily again. America's final possible ally is Somalia, which has a regime that practices egalitarian social policies internally, but which is responsible for continuing to claim one-third of its neighbor Ethiopia's territory and for fueling a guerrilla war there. It is this frontier that

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the Cuban troops in Ethiopia are guarding; if Carter and Brzezinski want to make sure that the Cubans stay for a long time in Ethiopia, the best way of doing it would be to give the Somali the military reassurance that U.S. naval facilities and new armament shipments would provide.

If anything marks a watershed in recent weeks it is not the Russian intervention in Afghanistan but the myopic response of the Carter Administration. The United States is rushing arms to Pakistan to protect it against a Russian advance that is not in the offing. A year after the ignominious flight of the Shah, Washington is dusting off the mistakes it made in Iran and calling them policy—dispatching envoys to demonstrate support for Zia, the Saudi beheaders and the Sultan of Oman. Two years after the Somali were ejected from Ethiopia with the help of Cuban troops, the Somali regime is getting new encouragement to destabilize the situation in the Horn of Africa. And 17 million metric tons of grain are being prevented from going to the U.S.S.R. in the futile hope of pressuring the Russians through their stomachs while the panic on the world gold markets has benefited one of the largest gold producers, the Russians. The re-election of Indira Gandhi in India has restored an old Soviet friend to power in the region. Above all, by championing Zia, the Afghan rebels, the Saudis and their like, the United States is allying with the most conservative and, in most cases, obscurantist forces in the Moslem world. Faced with this kind of response, the Russians must be wondering if they have not reaped unexpected dividends from their Afghan intervention. □

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ON PAGE 6THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS  
22 January 1980

# Report more Soviets swarming into Afghan

By The Associated Press

The Soviet Union has mounted a transcontinental airlift to pour fresh combat forces into Afghanistan, replacing Afghan army troops who are deserting the new Soviet-installed government's cause and "disappearing like so many soda bubbles," diplomatic sources in Pakistan said yesterday.

U.S. intelligence sources in Washington estimated that Soviet dead, wounded, captured and missing in the war against anti-Communist rebels might now total 2,000.

Foreign journalists reported from the Afghan capital of Kabul that Moscow has also sent in thousands of Soviet administrators to take firm control of the government, whose Communist bureaucracy was hard hit by two years of bloody infighting.

## Reinforcements from East Europe

The sources in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad, who asked not to be identified by name or nationality, said the Soviet airlift had been going on for several days.

They said the new troops were being flown in from bases in Eastern Europe and that they apparently are to reinforce—not replace—the Russian forces already there. Estimates of the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan currently are in the 76,000-80,000 range.

The airlift coincides with reports from Afghan rebel sources and Asian and Western diplomats in Islamabad that Afghan army troops are deserting by the thousands.

"It's reliable information," said a Western diplomat. "We are getting a large number of reports that the Afghan army is just evanescent—disappearing like so many soda bubbles. What's happening is that the Afghan army is suffering such

rapid desertions that the Soviets are reaching the point where there will be no indigenous forces to rely on."

In Washington, U.S. intelligence sources said yesterday that rebels killed as many as 50 Soviet soldiers in a recent surprise attack near a northern Afghan town.

The latest intelligence indicates that severe winter weather and rebel attacks have kept the Soviets from reaching isolated garrisons of the Afghan army in northeastern Afghanistan, where the heaviest rebel resistance is reported.

Despite their efforts to unite, however, the various, tribally based rebel groups remain "badly coordinated," a West European diplomat in Islamabad said.

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ON PAGE A9

THE WASHINGTON POST  
22 January 1980

### ***Kabul Says Former Leader Conspired With Rebel, CIA***

Reuter

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 21—The Afghan government today accused former president Hafizullah Amin of having attempted to end the country's guerrilla war by conspiring with a Moslem rebel leader and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Interior Minister Sayed Mohammed Gulabzoi told a news conference that Amin had planned to purge members of his own party in a conspiracy with Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, leader of one of the three main Pakistan-based Moslem insurgent groups.

According to Gulabzoi, Amin had offered the rebel leader \$58,000 and the post of prime minister in a new government in order to end the guerrilla war.

Gulabzoi said the CIA had expressed its full backing for the conspiracy and said it would send armed forces to support the plot. He contended that the Afghan government had "exact and correct" information to support the allegations.

The alleged plot outlined by Gulabzoi was the first attempt by the new government to explain its repeated charge that Amin was a CIA spy.

In Moscow, the official Tass news agency carried an account of Gulabzoi's statement that quoted him as saying: "Assurances have been received in Kabul from definite circles in Washington that if necessary the initiators of the coup were to be supported by the 'might' of the U.S. armed forces."



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A1-10

NEW YORK TIMES  
22 JANUARY 1980

## Afghans Say Slain President Conspired With Rebel Leader and C.I.A.



**RITE FOR FALLEN AFGHAN GUERRILLA:** In western Afghanistan, near border with Iran, guerrillas held a funeral service for comrade killed in fighting with Soviet

troops. In Kabul, a spokesman for Soviet-backed Government said that late President Hafizullah Amin had conspired with a Moslem rebel leader and C.I.A.

**KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 21 (Reuters)** — The Afghan Government convened a news conference here today to explain its repeated charges that the late President Hafizullah Amin was a spy for the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

Interior Minister Sayed Mohammed Gulabzoi told reporters that President Amin had attempted to end the country's guerrilla war by conspiring with a Moslem rebel leader and the C.I.A. He said Mr. Amin had planned to purge members of his own party on Dec. 29 in a conspiracy with Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, leader of one of the three main Pakistan-based Moslem insurgent groups.

The President, however, was overthrown in a Soviet-backed coup on Dec. 27 and replaced with Babrak Karmal. Mr. Amin had come to power in mid-September after the killing of Noor Mohammad Taraki, the country's first Marxist President.

According to the Interior Minister, Mr. Amin had offered the rebel leader the equivalent of \$58,000 and the post of Prime Minister in a new Government in return for ending the guerrilla war that had bedeviled his rule. Mr. Gulabzoi asserted that the American intelligence agency had expressed its full backing and promised to send armed forces to support the move.

### Date of Amin's Death Unclear

A version of Mr. Gulabzoi's statement was translated from Pashto into Persian and then into English here. It appeared to fix Dec. 29 as the date when Mr. Amin was put to death. This would contradict earlier announcements in Kabul and Moscow that he had been killed shortly after the Dec. 27 coup.

The minister said that Mr. Amin had immediately "joined hands with the black reactionaries" shortly after killing his predecessor, Mr. Taraki, in mid-September.

Mr. Gulabzoi, who is 28 years old, was among the first ministers appointed by Mr. Karmal. His news conference was the first to be given by a member of the new Government since Mr. Karmal met with reporters on Jan. 10.

Western reporters have been told that they will no longer receive special passes, normally required to interview officials. But an Interior Ministry official said today that they were free to move about the country.

However, several journalists who have traveled on the main road north of Kabul toward the Soviet Union have been turned back by Soviet troops.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A10

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
20 January 1980

## Soviet Says Carter Will Drop Détente for Military Might

By ANTHONY AUSTIN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 19 — Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party paper, warned today that what it termed the new "Carter doctrine" being planned in Washington confronted the world with the prospect of a "complex period" in international relations.

The article was presented as an advance critique of the speech to be given by President Carter on Wednesday, when, the paper said, he was expected to proclaim "his own doctrine" for American foreign policy for the 1980's.

The whole trend of recent years, Pravda said, makes it clear that it is going to be a doctrine of military power to block social changes around the world that hamper the unrestricted access of "American monopolies" to oil and other raw materials.

The paper said that the evident policy switch by Washington from seeking the limitation of arms to a new round in the military race was pushing the world toward a "slippery and dangerous path." Moreover, the paper added, "a dangerous situation has arisen as a result of the machinations of aggressive imperialist forces and their accomplices" in Southwest Asia and other areas.

In an article over the signature of A. Petrov, which is a pseudonym used for particularly authoritative statements of the Soviet position on foreign affairs, Pravda said:

"United States policy is in a feverish state. American emissaries are dashing about the world, twisting arms to make their allies join in an appearance of a united anti-Soviet front."

However, the paper said, "the United States already finds itself in the unenviable position of a state that is trying to stamp out the fruit of détente against the wishes of the world's peoples."

### Says 'Blackmail' Will Fail

Implying that the United States might find it difficult to bend its allies to its will, the article concluded by citing President Leonid I. Brezhnev's statement in an interview with Pravda a week ago. The Soviet leader said then that détente, with its "deep roots," had "every chance of remaining the leading tendency in relations among governments."

In any event, Pravda said, the American leaders' campaign of pressure

against Moscow was bound to fail. "Experience should have taught them that it is useless to try to talk with the Soviet Union in the language of force, or to resort to blackmail, including economic blackmail, against our country," Pravda declared. "No one has ever succeeded in this."

According to the Pravda analysis, the so-called Carter doctrine suffered a major setback in Afghanistan even while the policy was being formed. Pravda said that soon after the Afghan Communist Party seized power in April 1978 the Americans sought to use "interventionist forces" to "put an end to the revolutionary changes" and "throw the country back into the dark middle ages."

This explained, the paper said, the "noise and ferocity" in the United States when the arrival of Soviet troops frustrated Washington's plan to overthrow the Kabul Government and turn Afghanistan into an American base, with "American military installations turned toward the Soviet Union, in place of those lost in Iran."

Pravda charged that "tens of thousands" of mercenaries armed with American and Chinese weapons were still being trained and sent into Afghanistan by instructors from Washington and Peking, with the direct involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department.

### Amin Again Linked to C.I.A.

The paper repeated an allegation that President Hafizullah Amin, who was killed at the time of the Dec. 27 coup in Kabul, was a C.I.A. agent.

"The President in his speeches pretends not to know about any external aggression," Pravda said. "He would prefer aggression, when carried out by mercenaries, to be called something else."

But the world's peoples, the paper said, have not forgotten that "mercenaries hired by the imperialist circles of the United States strangled the freedom of Guatemala," were thrown against "freedom-loving Cuba," crushed "democracy in Chile," tried to suppress the revolution in Vietnam before direct American intervention and were "sent against the peoples of nations in Africa."

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A1-9

THE WASHINGTON POST  
19 January 1980

# Soviets Rotating Forces in Afghanistan

By George C. Wilson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Soviet mountaineer and counter-guerrilla units are being sent into Afghanistan for the first time, U.S. defense officials said yesterday.

These officials, on the basis of the latest intelligence reports, said the changing character of the Soviet occupation force does not mean any significant increase in the total number of troops in Afghanistan because the Soviets are rotating their forces.

Shortly before Christmas, the Soviets ordered into Afghanistan units stationed near the Soviet-Afghan border, fleshing out the ranks with reservists. Many of those reservists, according to the Pentagon, are now being sent home and replaced by regular Soviet troops from units farther inland.

The rotation, officials said, is being wrongly interpreted in some published reports as evidence of a Soviet escalation by committing a larger force to Afghanistan.

Intelligence officials also said there is nothing alarming or unusual about Soviet troop exercises in Eastern Europe, declaring that the massing of Russian and East German troops in Hungary 60 miles from the Yugoslav border does not appear to be related to the illness of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.

The same calm interpretation was put on the Soviet Union's deployment along its border with Iran, with U.S. officials asserting yesterday that there is no evidence the Russians are preparing a thrust into Iran, as some have speculated.

What does seem to be happening, defense officials said, is a stepped-up Soviet effort to "pacify" Afghanistan, to use a term from the Vietnam war.

The detection of Soviet mountaineer and counter-guerrilla forces going into Afghanistan is being interpreted by some U.S. military specialists as evidence that the Russian high command has concluded that it cannot depend on the Afghan army to combat the rebels.

What was termed "sporadic" fighting between Soviet and Afghan army units is continuing, officials said yesterday. The Afghan army has decreased from 100,000 to 50,000 troops, according to the Pentagon, with many of those defectors joining insurgent units. Others just went home, officials said.

U.S. intelligence sources agree that much of the Afghan army's weaponry and equipment has been lost in the defections. But how much of it ended up in the hands of the disorganized rebel forces is unclear, officials said.

The standard tactic the Soviets are using in Afghanistan, officials said, is to send Afghan army units into towns ahead of Russian troops. But often this has not provided the desired security, forcing the Russians to take a heavy hand in quelling resistance in some towns.

U.S. intelligence agencies recently received evidence that the Soviets have sent into Afghanistan trucks used to decontaminate troops exposed to gas, and Frog surface-to-surface missiles.

This combination raises the possibility, but only that, of the Soviets resorting to disabling or poison gas to combat rebel tribesmen in the mountains. The Frog can carry chemicals as well as conventional explosives in its nose.

However, the decontamination trucks and Frogs could represent nothing more than a standard deployment of Soviet forces, Pentagon officials acknowledged.

Military officials sifting through the intelligence reports on Afghanistan and pondering the Soviet Union's military options said they range from "hanging in there through the winter and grinding down the guerrillas" to taking immediate, aggressive action against resisting units by sending the mountaineer and counter-guerrillas into the hills.

One U.S. intelligence estimate is that there are about 75,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan and 25,000 more just over the border.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 23TIME  
28 January 1980

# "Who Lost Afghanistan?"

## *A sad chronicle of surprises and miscalculations*



*The virtual annexation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union represents not only a strategic setback for the U.S. but a potential political liability for Jimmy Carter as well. TIME Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott examines the historical background of the crisis:*

The question "Who lost Afghanistan?" is probably inevitable in the presidential campaign, if only because it echoes last year's refrains of "Who lost Iran?" and "Who lost Nicaragua?" The temptation to blame Jimmy Carter is understandable—and, for his critics, irresistible. After all, even though his predecessors had unwittingly contributed to the leftward drift of the Kabul government, it was during Carter's watch—and partly because of his misjudgments—that Afghanistan finally slipped from its traditional neutrality into the Soviet orbit.

But Afghanistan, unlike Iran and Nicaragua, was never really "ours" to lose. The British raj stopped at the Afghan border, and so did the post-World War II Pax Americana. In 1955 John Foster Dulles helped set up what became known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) as part of a global network of anti-Soviet alliances. In effect, Dulles was drawing a line in the dust that the Soviets dared not step across lest they incur the thermonuclear wrath of the West. That line ran along the northern frontiers of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, which were all members of CENTO. In keeping with Afghanistan's policy of nonalignment, it remained beyond the American "security perimeter" and was therefore vulnerable to its giant neighbor.

U.S. policymakers left Afghanistan largely out of their geopolitical calculations, implicitly conceding it to the Soviet sphere of influence. When Henry Kissinger stopped off in Kabul to show the flag for a few hours in 1974, he spent almost as much time watching buzkashi, a primitive and violent form of polo, as he did talking business with President Mohammed Daoud. Says a veteran of the Nixon and Ford Administrations: "We had no illusions that the Afghans would or could defy Moscow. They were more Finlandized than the Finns."

The Marxist coup in which Noor Mohammed Taraki overthrew Daoud in April 1978 surprised the Soviets as much as it did the Americans. Western intelligence has not been able to find Russian fingerprints on the scene of "the April revolution," but the Soviets wasted no time in placing

advisers in all the important ministries and down to the company level in the armed forces.

The Carter Administration underreacted. Soviet aggressiveness in Afghanistan would be bad news for détente and for U.S. peace initiatives in the Middle East. Also, in its eagerness to make friends in the Third World, the Administration tended to give the benefit of the doubt to leftists who also seemed to be nationalists. Pakistan's strongman, Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, warned that a Marxist government in Kabul, supported by the Soviets, had gravely upset the balance of power in the region. "The Russians are now at the Khyber Pass," Zia told TIME in September 1978—but that was simply not a message Washington wanted to hear.

In 1979 the Soviets escalated their intervention against Afghanistan's Muslim militants and recalcitrant tribesmen who had been waging a long simmering and spreading rebellion. The insurgents, in turn, received more covert assistance from China, Pakistan and other countries. But by now the U.S. was distracted by a new preoccupation, right next door in Iran. (One immediate consequence of the collapse of the Shah: CENTO, long moribund,



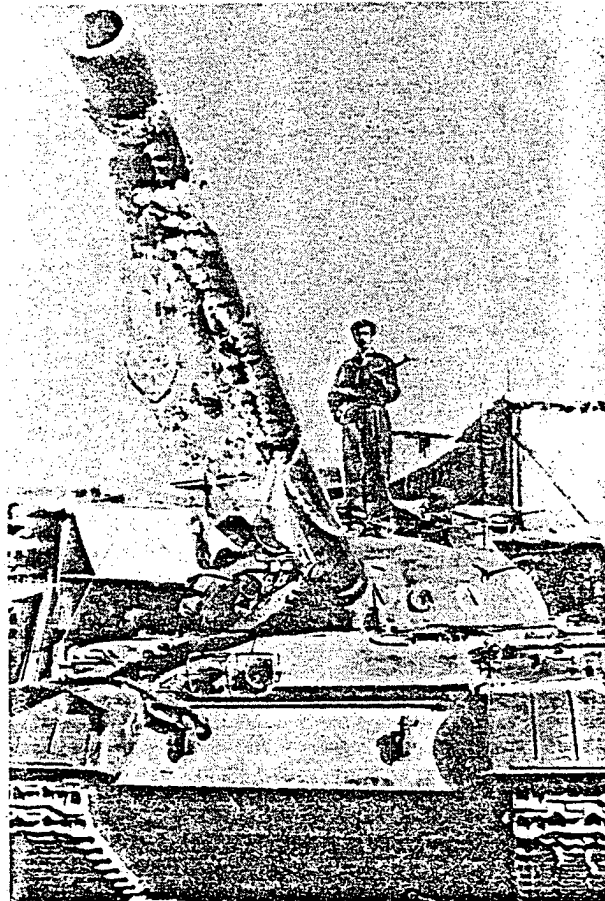
Former Presidents Daoud and Taraki

was disbanded.) Insofar as U.S. diplomats and intelligence experts focused on Afghanistan at all, they made two miscalculations. First, they believed that the Soviets' desire to preserve détente would restrain them in Afghanistan. Second, they had long since written off Babrak Karmal and his comrades in the pro-Soviet faction, whom the more independent Marxists ruling in Kabul had purged or driven into East European exile. Even in the early fall of last year, when an interagency intelligence report seriously raised the possibility that the Soviets might launch a full-scale "pacification" campaign in order to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a hostile Islamic republic, many U.S. experts were betting that the Soviets would put that campaign in the hands of a nationalistic general, Mohammed Aslam Watanjar. The notion of the Soviets flying Karmal home from

BALDEV—SYGMA

Eastern Europe seemed too ham-handed and provocative, given the Communists' obvious need to broaden the political base of the Kabul regime. An armed Soviet takeover of the country was discounted for the same reason. More prescient intelligence would have enabled the U.S. to mount a diplomatic offensive to deter the Soviets, or at least to prepare countermeasures in advance.

Now Karmal is President. (Watanjar is Minister of Communications and No. 6 in the leadership.) Afghanistan has a made-in-Moscow presidium and the ruble is the coin of the realm. Having become a *de facto* Soviet satellite two years ago, the benighted nation is now in danger of becoming the *de facto* 16th republic of the U.S.S.R. That sorry prospect leaves the U.S. to polish its intelligence community's crystal ball and to rebuild the original "security perimeter" south of Afghanistan with new alliances, fresh diplomatic offensives, and reinforced military deployments. Of course, the U.S. can also hope that the Afghan guerrillas will eventually wear out the superior Soviet force in a war of attrition. The odds are against that, but then, the odds were against a Soviet occupation in the first place. Now Afghanistan is the Soviets' to lose.



Afghan army tanks in Kabul during Marxist coup of 1978

*An armed Soviet takeover was discounted.*

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IRAN

(Thinner this Week)

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WASHINGTON POST  
23 JANUARY 1980

# Iranians Call Press Aide In U.S. Embassy a Spy

By Michael Weisskopf  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Islamic militants holding Americans in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran last night branded the embassy press attache as a spy and renewed threats to stage espionage trials for the estimated 50 hostages.

In the latest of their televised disclosures of what they claim are captured embassy documents, the captors described the attache, Barry Rosen, as "a famous spy and plotter" who tried to subvert the Iranian press.

"When we put him on trial, the plots of the United States will become more clear," said a spokesman for the radical embassy occupiers, who describe themselves as Islamic theology students.

Since they seized the 24-acre embassy compound 80 days ago, the young militants have threatened to try their American hostages as spies unless deposed Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, now in Panama, is returned to Iran.

They have not raised the threat of trial, however, since Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini rejected their demand two weeks ago to hand over U.S. Charge d'Affaires L. Bruce Laingen for questioning on alleged espionage documents.

While constantly referring to the embassy as "the nest of spies," the revolutionary captors have only named two Americans as espionage agents until last night. In early December, they produced purported State Department documents that they said showed that three other hostages are Central Intelligence Agency officers serving under diplomatic cover.

In last night's broadcast, a spokesman unveiled alleged documents from Rosen to the State Department that he said proved the press attache had been in contact with the editors of Iranian publications opposed to the revolutionary government.

The documents, according to the spokesman, sought the editors' cooperation to improve the image of the

*In an effort to limit reporting on the Americans being held as prisoners by Islamic extremists inside the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the Iranian government has expelled all American reporters, including correspondents of The Washington Post. Using reports from those news organizations that are permitted to continue to function in Iran and from information available outside that country, The Post will continue to report the siege of the embassy, which today entered its 81st day.*

United States in Iran. But none of the papers showed that the editors had done more than hold general discussions about editorial policy or the financial backgrounds of their papers with Rosen, according to news reports from Tehran.

Meanwhile, recent efforts by Iranian officials to appease the nation's rebellious Kurdish minority faltered yesterday when Kurdish leaders urged supporters in their western province to boycott Friday's presidential election.

Government officials had hoped to use the nation's first political contest as a way of easing widespread regional tension in Iran and unifying the country against the perceived threat of Soviet military invasion.

But Kurdish leaders seeking local autonomy for their 4 million people remained unmoved yesterday by recent government concessions, including the withdrawal of unpopular paramilitary forces from two Kurdish cities.

Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini, a Kurdish spiritual leader of the Sunni sect of Islam, called for an election-day boycott at a mass meeting in Mahabad commemorating the short-lived Kurdistan Autonomous Republic of 1946.



NEW YORK TIMES  
23 JANUARY 1980

## Soviet Ship Anchors Off Iran Coast And Monitors Persian Gulf Traffic

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times

MUSCAT, Oman, Jan. 22 — Since Nov. 25, three weeks after the takeover of the American Embassy in Teheran and more than a month before the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, a Soviet Navy ship has been anchored in the middle of the main shipping lane at the eastern end of the Strait of Hormuz.

Half the world's oil supplies are carried through this lane from the Persian Gulf to the Arabian Sea at the rate of one tanker every 21 minutes.

The Shah of Iran considered himself the policeman of the Strait, but his successors have said they would play that role only if Iran's national security was threatened. This has left surveillance of one of the world's most important waterways exclusively in the hands of Oman, a small country that emerged from the Middle Ages only a few years ago. Consequently, the United States is seeking to use Omani military installations.

### Scores of Aerials

The Taman, a 6,450-ton converted timber carrier, flies the red ensign of the Soviet Fleet, and its masts and superstructure bristle with scores of aerials of all kinds and shapes.

An odd-shaped, tailless helicopter of the type used to hunt submarines sits on the ship's bow, half covered by canvas.

Sailors in the summer uniform of the Soviet Navy — blue shorts with matching jackets and soft visored caps — were at various stations, some carrying assault rifles, and stared intently and impassively as an Omani Air Force helicopter carrying reporters circled the ship as close as safety and minimum courtesy permitted.

From the bridge, Soviet officers recorded the visitors' moves with half a dozen cameras. On deck, men in swim trunks interrupted their sunbathing. There were no smiles or waves, and except for the rifles, no arms could be seen.

In the afternoon of the same day — Sun-

day — an Omani gunboat, El Mujahid, made the second daily routine check on the Taman. The ship was still in the same position, in the middle of a 4-mile slot of international waters between the 12-mile territorial limits of Oman and Iran.

"She is full of listeners," said El Mujahid's skipper, Lieut. Bill Brooks, seconded to Oman from the British Royal Navy. The Taman, he said, is monitoring all traffic through the Strait and listening to radio communications between ships and countries.

The British officers with the Omani forces have never seen the Taman's helicopter in the air, but they assume that it does fly occasionally. It is being carefully maintained, and once the Soviet sailors were seen repairing its engine.

Judging from the devices protruding from the Soviet ship, some of these officers believe it may be equipped to detect and possibly guide submarines, but no Soviet submarine has been reported in the area.

"It's guesswork really; all the electronic gear is hidden in that hull," one of them said. Periodically the Soviet ship vanishes into the Indian Ocean, but the next day it is back in its slot.

The Taman and El Mujahid are the only military presence in the Strait apart from the patrolling Omani planes. The American and Soviet fleets are cruising in the Indian Ocean, some two hundred miles away, circling and watching each other.

Occasionally some ships of the American fleet pass through the Strait on their way to Bahrain, where they have supply facilities.

### Negotiations With U.S.

Warships of any nation on "innocent passage" do not need prior clearance from the Omanis. Although for a long stretch the shipping lane is entirely in Omani territorial waters, the Strait is an international waterway: Sultan Qabus bin Said, the Omani ruler, who is worried about Soviet power in neighboring Southern Yemen, has been asking for help in patrolling the area for some time.

Now, with the alarm bells ringing in Iran and Afghanistan, the Carter Administration has begun negotiating with the Sultan for the right to use Omani naval and air installations to help supply its ships in the Indian Ocean. In case of emergency, these sites could be used in flying in a rapid deployment force.

In exchange, the Sultan is understood to have asked for an American security commitment. He is reported to have told the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, two weeks ago that he would ex-

pect a gentlemen's agreement under which he could count on American military assistance to bolster his defenses locally and on more direct American action in case of a Soviet threat to the Strait.

A team of Americans is in Oman to inspect its installations, which would have to be expanded to meet American needs.

The Sultan declared a few days ago that Oman would not give military bases to the United States. This was his way of acknowledging that virtually all other Arab governments object to an American presence in the area as long as the United States does not endorse the Arab position on the Palestinian issue. The Omanis are looking out on the Indian Ocean, to the Indian subcontinent and down the east coast of Africa and are less concerned than most other Arabs with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Sultan Qabus started to expand Omani military facilities in the Strait before Washington began to show interest.

Five months ago he started to build a base for minesweepers and gunboats on Ghanam Island west of the northernmost tip of the Masandam Peninsula, which forms the mountainous, rocky southern coast of the Strait. A radar station is also being built there. Both are to be completed in May. A second radar station is planned for As Salama Island, a rock in the middle of the Strait almost 12 miles north of the Omani mainland.

### Shipping Route Is Changed

Until last fall, all traffic through the Strait passed between the mainland and As Salama, which is also known as Great Quoin. Then, acting through the International Maritime Commission, Oman shifted the sea lanes north of the island. The official explanation was that the big tankers were a danger to small Omani fishing boats between the mainland and As Salama.

An unstated but more important reason was believed to be Omani fear that an unfriendly Iranian government might one day decide to occupy As Salama and its even smaller neighbor, Didamar, or Little Quoin, and claim them as Iranian territory. Eight years ago, the Shah did just that with three small islands in the Gulf that had been considered the territory of Abu Dhabi.

The Omanis reason that by moving the shipping lanes north of the two rocks and putting a radar station on one, they are making a seizure by the Iranians or anyone else more difficult.

Before shifting the shipping lines, Omani patrol boats monitored traffic for several weeks. It was then that they found that a tanker was passing through the Strait every 21 minutes. For all ships, the rate is one every 19 minutes.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 1LOS ANGELES TIMES  
18 JANUARY 1980

## MILITARY OPTION FOREMOST

Russia vs. Iran: U.S.  
Ponders Unthinkable

By JACK NELSON and ROBERT C. TOTH

Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON—The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the possibility of additional moves against Iran or Pakistan, has given rise to grave concern among White House and other national security officials about the ultimate unthinkable possibility—war with the Soviet Union.

Such a war, officials believe, almost certainly would become a nuclear war because the United States has concentrated on its nuclear capability rather than on matching the Soviet Union's massive strength in conventional warfare.

No Carter Administration official has discussed such a possibility on the record. Among themselves and in background briefings with The Times, however, White House and other senior officials dealing with national security say that if the Soviet Union carries its expansionism into Iran or Pakistan, the United States will have little choice but to oppose it militarily.

There would be no other way, the officials assert, for the United States to protect its vital interests in a region that supplies the imported oil that this country, Western Europe, and Japan cannot live without.

"The United States would not at all be comfortable with the Soviet Union sitting on Iran's oil fields," one Defense Department official remarked drily as he considered the options this country would face if the Soviet Union continued its military advances. "Nor would the NATO countries be comfortable with that."

While an assortment of economic, political and diplomatic responses to new Russian military thrusts could be tried, most specialists doubt that they would be effective. And when officials discuss the military options now available to the United States, they use words like *horrendous* and *scary* and raise the specter of World War III.

Similarly, a National Security Council official, briefing a group of

visiting editors this week, said that if the Soviets invade Iran, "it would be very unfortunate and we wouldn't want to, but obviously we would have to help that country."

The official's remark—made at a time when the regime of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini continues to scorn all efforts to free the 50 American hostages held by Iranian militants in Tehran—illustrates the almost overnight upheaval that the Afghanistan invasion has produced in Washington's view of the world.

Only days ago, it was impossible to imagine any Carter Administration official talking about making common cause with Khomeini on anything. Now, brought face to face with the possibility of direct conflict with the Soviet Union in the volatile Middle East, officials are discussing ways to show the ayatollah that his quarrel with the United States is almost trivial compared with the Russian threat.

Inside the White House, there seems to be no sense of urgency or tension as President Carter's aides go about their daily tasks. "It's not like the tenseness during the Cuban missile crisis (in 1962)," one senior aide to the President said. "It's more a sense of great frustration. There's a sense that we're on the right course in keeping the non-military heat on the Soviets and that they realize they've made a mistake in Afghanistan because of the world reaction against the invasion."

Nevertheless, the President has called the invasion the greatest threat to world peace since World War II and has said that a Soviet-occupied Afghanistan "threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a steppingstone to their possible control over much of the world's oil supplies."

On this point, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security advisor, said in a recently published interview, "The United States has a vital interest in the stability of that re-

gion, and the United States is prepared to use force, if necessary, to protect its vital interests."

U.S. military options to meet such a threat are severely limited by geography, manpower and equipment—the latter two factors aggravated by the decline in U.S. preparedness since the Vietnam War. However, the United States does have a powerful naval strike force still building in the Indian Ocean, originally dispatched there as part of the nation's response to the Iranian hostage crisis.

But this strike force, built around aircraft carriers, is primarily an instrument for projecting air power. Any substantial U.S. military involvement on the ground would require a far more elaborate logistical and support system.

And it is when defense specialists contemplate U.S. readiness for such an operation against the Soviet Union—particularly in so distant a region as Iran or Pakistan—that the concern about where it might end becomes most grave.

A just-released CIA report on comparative U.S.-Soviet defense expenditures points up the sobering realities that U.S. officials must consider as they face the possibility of conflict with the Soviets. It shows that during the 1970s, Soviet defense expenditures exceeded U.S. outlays by almost 30%. The uniformed personnel strength of Soviet forces in 1979 was estimated at 4.3 million—about twice the U.S. level.

Military manpower trends paralleled those for total costs in the two defense establishments, the CIA reported. Soviet Military manpower grew by more than 400,000 men between 1970 and 1979. Meanwhile, the level of U.S. military manpower has fallen every year since the peak of the Vietnam buildup—from 3.1 million in 1970 to 2.1 million in 1979.

In terms of manpower strength available for conventional combat, the Soviet superiority is even greater than approximately 2-1 ratio these numbers suggest, in part because the greater complexity and sophistication of U.S. weapons systems requires more skilled technicians and support personnel.

The Soviets have 1.56 million combat troops—compared with only 220,000 for the United States. In Afghan-

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Istan alone, the Soviets have as many as 80,000 combat troops, according to U.S. intelligence. As one U.S. analyst noted, it would take about one-third of this country's total combat force merely to match Soviet troop strength in Afghanistan.

The contrast between U.S. and Soviet combat troop strength was highlighted even more vividly by another defense official who pointed out that Moscow has more soldiers deployed along its border with China than this country has in its entire army.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States have vital interests and therefore mandatory troop commitments elsewhere in the world, of course, including Western Europe and Asia. Thus, neither country would dare commit all—or even the bulk—of its combat troops to a struggle in Iran or Pakistan. The overall numbers do, however, suggest the proportionate strength of the two nations when it comes to conventional warfare.

Defense analysts point out that the United States would be at a severe logistical disadvantage in any conflict with the Soviets in Iran because U.S. supply lines would span

more than 10,000 miles while the Soviet supply lines would only be a few hundred miles long.

U.S. defense analysts long ago contemplated the possibility of a military confrontation with the Soviets in Europe and worked out their defenses accordingly in cooperation with North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries. That possibility has been discussed not only in highly secret sessions but also in public forums.

Jody Powell, White House press secretary, has said that the United States has contingency plans in case the Soviets move into Iran, although he has declined to discuss them.

But so far there has been almost none of the public discussion or political debate over U.S. strategic and tactical planning for military action in the Middle East or Southwest Asia—the sort of discussion that is usually necessary to build the consensus of support that is vital if major policies are to be effective.

Some Administration officials and non-government defense experts say it is time to begin public discussion of the possibility of U.S. military options in this crucial region.

Despite the logistical problems, defense officials say the United States is positioning itself to take military ac-

tion that is deemed necessary. And massive as the Soviet capability is for conventional warfare, officials stress that the United States is not without strengths of its own.

"We have pretty good forces and we have the best airlift in the world," one defense official said. "We have two carrier battle groups in the Indian Ocean (each equipped with 75 planes) and a third on the way. We have Marines in the Pacific, so it isn't at all impossible to contemplate the use of American force in Iran."

William Quandt, a former National Security Council expert on the Mideast, said he thinks the United States would move with some force into Iran to counter any Soviet invasion.

If the Soviets crossed their own border into Iran's Azerbaijan region, Quandt said, "we probably would try by sea and air power, from carriers and maybe airlifting the 82nd Airborne, to secure bases along the Iranian coast. We would not contest Azerbaijan directly. Strategically, the coast is more important, and it's easier for us to project power there." (The Iranian oil fields are concentrated near the Persian Gulf Coast.)

But Quandt, now on the staff of the Brookings Institution, said: "If the Soviets are clever—and they showed signs they were in handling Afghanistan—they would not move piecemeal but would immediately project power down to the coast regions first. This would stymie a quick U.S. response, and we couldn't do much then to stop them."

Quandt also suggested that the United States would strive for a rapprochement with Iraq, which is the second-biggest oil exporter in the region. (Saudi Arabia exports 9.5 million barrels per day, Iraq about 4 million and Iran 2.25 million.) Iraq's relations with the Soviets have been strained, and the Iraqis presumably would be upset at any Soviet move into Iran and might welcome U.S. protection.

Both because of the sensitivity of the issue and because Carter is scheduled to spell out his new Soviet policy in his State of the Union speech Wednesday, defense officials were reluctant to elaborate on specific military options.

Even before the Soviet move into Afghanistan, the Center for Defense Information, a nonprofit, Washington-based research group, concluded that the prospects "of going to war for oil increase as American oil shortages continue to worsen."

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THE WASHINGTON POST  
22 January 1980

Jack Anderson

## U.S. Sanctions on Iran Not a 'Big Stick'

When U.S. hopes for a United Nations economic embargo of Iran were dashed by the Soviet veto, the Carter administration stoutly declared that the United States would go it alone.

What the White House neglected to say was that the "big stick" of U.S. sanctions may turn out to be a rubber billy club. The revolutionary regime in Iran had already reduced trade with the United States to the point where a total cutoff won't really punish the Iranians — and may even play into the hands of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Trade data from the Commerce Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Congressional Research Service show how laughable it is to suggest that a U.S. trade embargo would bring the mad mullah to his knees, much less put the fanatic captors of the American embassy in a more reasonable frame of mind.

"It appears that exports to Iran have fallen off so significantly as to reduce Iranian vulnerability to a U.S. trade embargo," states an internal CRS analysis.

For example, in 1978 Iran purchased \$1.4 billion worth of machinery and transport equipment from American firms. In the first nine months of 1979, due largely to the chaos created by the revolution, it bought only \$328 million. The purchase of electric generating equipment totaled \$223 million in 1978, but only \$15 million in the first three quarters of last year.

The fundamentalist Khomeini wants to put the brakes on the rapid industrialization pushed by the deposed shah.

Industrial production has been reduced by 60 percent at some sites, and further U.S. technological cutoffs might help the ayatollah's efforts to throw his nation's economy back into the Middle Ages.

"It appears that Iran could survive any unilateral U.S. punitive economic efforts, even though it may impose temporary hardships in some sectors," another internal report warns. One such hardship sector might be food — but President Carter has ruled out a food embargo. And even here, a U.S. boycott would have limited effect, knowledgeable sources informed my associate Tony Capaccio.

Iran would be most susceptible to a cutoff of rice, and feed grains — corn and soybeans — vital to poultry production. While a shortage of poultry feed might cripple that already shaky industry, the Iranians hedged against this possibility by buying up huge stores of such grains from the United States in the months before the embassy seizure.

If Carter decides to use food as a weapon, the most effective ammunition would be rice. The kind preferred by Iranians is in short supply worldwide. But the Iranian view of life as a vale of tears — as one Iranian academic described it — "If any place seems quiet, happy and peaceful, it is only because bad news is slow in arriving" — would classify a shortage of rice as simply one more spiritual test to be endured.

And of course the Iranians have another, quite worldly cure for any U.S. attempt to boycott them into submission singlehandedly: With their oil bil-

lions, they can pay whatever price is demanded for goods on the world market.

In short, a solo embargo by the United States won't buy tickets home for the American hostages.

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THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
19 January 1980

# Link candidate to Khomeini plot

KUWAIT [UPI]—A former commander of Iran's naval forces now running for president led an abortive coup recently in an attempt to topple Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic regime and bring back the deposed shah's last prime minister, a usually reliable Kuwaiti newspaper said Friday.

In a dispatch from Washington, quoting sources close to America's Central Intelligence Agency, Kuwait's daily newspaper Al Qabas said, "The overthrow was planned in Iran's naval base of Bandar Abbas, and about 30 to 50 ranking and middle-ranking officers of [Iran's] Defense Ministry were involved in the scheme."

Rear Adm. Ahmed Madani, once head of the country's navy and currently a candidate for the presidency in the election scheduled for next week, led the attempt, the newspaper reported.

THE PLOTTERS wanted to put Shah-

pour Bakhtiar, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's last prime minister, back into office, the newspaper said.

Bakhtiar was last reported to be living in Paris, where he claimed to have formed an underground group operating in Iran.

In a separate report from Lebanon, Beirut's leading daily An Nahar, usually well-informed on Iranian issues, said "63 army regulars, including two top officers, believed to have been involved in a coup attempt, have been executed recently."

The newspaper attributed the reports to Iranian sources in Beirut.

An Nahar linked the reported attempt to recent riots in the city of Tabriz, in the northwestern province of Azerbaijan, between government forces and a Turkish-speaking minority group.

There was no independent confirmation of either report.

AL QABAS' REPORT said the "conspirators planned to use facilities established by the Defense Ministry in Tehran," after unrest in Tabriz, to take control of the Iranian capital.

The Kuwaiti newspaper said that after seizing Tehran, Madani and his aides planned to "proceed to [the holy city of] Qom and arrest Khomeini and members of the [ruling] Revolutionary Council." The Kuwaiti newspaper said the scheme also included assassinating Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, Iran's foreign minister and one of Khomeini's top aides.

Ghotbzadeh, like Madani, is a candidate for the presidency.

AL QABAS SAID Iran's 13-member Revolutionary Council, including Ghotbzadeh, knew of the plot but did not confront it "in order to avoid disturbances in Khuzestan," one of Iran's 23 provincial divisions, which is governed by Madani.

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NEWSWEEK  
28 January 1980

## **PERISCOPE**

### **DISSIDENT BROADCASTS IN IRAN**

Iranian dissidents claim they are operating three clandestine radio stations within Iran and plan to open a fourth and more powerful station in Teheran itself in the next week or two. The dissidents are followers of Shahpur Bakhtiar, the Shah's last Prime Minister, who now lives in exile in Paris. Bakhtiar's supporters also boast that they will soon be operating an Egyptian-based radio station capable of broadcasting throughout Iran. But Egyptian authorities think the Bakhtiar loyalists are talking about something a bit different: plans for Radio Cairo to resume Persian-language broadcasts to Iran that were discontinued after the fall of the Shah.

### **THE CIA'S EMBARGO REPORT**

The CIA has completed a secret study concluding that the U.S. grain embargo will hit the Soviet Union harder than some public estimates have suggested. "It's going to set their diet back a decade," said one top White House aide after reading the CIA study. The U.S. action will reduce Russia's grain imports to 24 million tons this year, instead of the 60 million tons that the Russians need to make up for their own poor crop in 1979. As a result, the Russians will have to cut back their herds. The CIA study points out that President Leonid Brezhnev stressed livestock production in the current Soviet Five Year Plan and that the embargo represents "a marked setback to Brezhnev."

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JAPANESE SPY SCANDAL

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ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 3THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
21 January 1980

# Spy scandal shakes Japan;

By Takashi Oka

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Tokyo

Japan's biggest spy scandal since World War II is causing deep governmental concern in three areas:

1. The Self-Defense Forces. Morale has been severely jolted by the disclosure that a retired major general and two subalterns in active service had been feeding military secrets to the Soviet Union, possibly for many years.

2. Relations with the United States and with China. The classified information apparently largely concerned the state of American forces in Japan and of China's defenses against the Soviet Union.

3. Legislation. Hawks in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party are already calling for the passage of a secrets-protection act similar to, but perhaps not so draconian as Britain's Official Secrets Act. Opposition parties are strongly opposed to such an act. Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, who commands a bare majority in the Diet (parliament), wishes, if possible, to avoid controversy on so sensitive a constitutional issue when he already faces enough trouble trying to get his deficit-cutting budget through the Diet.

One possibly beneficial fallout may be the heightening of public vigilance over the need for better defenses against the Soviet Union. There is already deep disquiet over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. (Anger would perhaps be too strong a word to characterize Japanese reactions as yet.)

Retired Maj. Gen. Yukihiya Miyanaga, 1st Lt. Eiichi Kashii, and Warrant Officer Tsunetoshi Oshima were arrested by officers of the Metropolitan Police Board on Jan. 18. The following afternoon Col. Yuri Kozlov, Soviet military attaché, left with his wife by plane for Moscow without responding to a Japanese request to appear at police headquarters.

General Miyanaga was one of Japan's top intelligence experts on the Soviet Union until his retirement from the Self-Defense Force in 1974. Lieutenant Kashii and Mr. Oshima are both intelligence officers. They are former subordinates of the general and have confessed that they supplied him with classified documents, knowing that he was passing them on to the Soviet Union.

General Miyanaga is said to have denied that he was motivated either by money or by ideology, although he has admitted being paid for his spying. What his real motives may have been remains obscure, as does the exact length of time he may have been working for the Soviets.

The shock felt at Self-Defense Force headquarters and by the public at large is profound. In postwar Japan there is no crime of treason, nor is there any legislation corresponding to Britain's Official Secrets Act.

The Constitution bans war and "war potential," but the Self-Defense Forces get around this provision by claiming that they are not armed forces in the classical sense, but forces established solely to exercise Japan's "inherent" right of self-defense. Therefore there are no military secrets, and members of the Self-Defense Forces come under the same civil law as any citizen.

Nevertheless, the all-volunteer Self-Defense Force is a highly professional and dedicated force. To most Japanese, the idea that a former general, a product of Japan's

## US secrets lost?

prewar Imperial Military Academy, should not only have spied for the Soviet Union but also have persuaded former subordinates in active service into doing the same seems almost incredible.

Even without an official-secrets law, Self-Defense Force authorities had considered that their own internal discipline and procedures for protecting secrets would be sufficient to prevent leakage. This presumption now must be fundamentally revised. The ground forces chief of staff has offered his resignation, and the minister of state for defense, Enji Kubota, may also have to quit.

Japanese government sources also are concerned that relations with the United States and China may be affected. Many of the documents discovered at General Miyanaga's home (along with a radio transmitter and a code table) are said to have had to do either with information about the equipment and state of American forces in Japan or with the state of Chinese defense forces obtained either by the Japanese or passed on to them by the United States.

These are, of course, two subjects in which Soviet intelligence would be far more interested than in the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, which have limited military capabilities. The embarrassment felt here is all the greater because the establishment of agreed defense guidelines with Washington a year ago opened the way for Tokyo to obtain more access to sensitive American defense information. As for China, the Miyanaga incident could dampen enthusiasm for the exchanges of good-will delegations that Peking recently has been promoting with the Self-Defense Forces.



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THE WASHINGTON POST  
21 January 1980

### Around the World

#### Japanese Spy Scandal

TOKYO — Three Army officers arrested in Japan's biggest spy scandal since World War II may have passed intelligence on Japanese, American and Chinese troop movements in Asia to Soviet spymasters during the past seven years, officials said.

Arrested and undergoing interrogation were now retired Army Gen. Yukihisa Miyanaga and two of his former subordinates, Lt. Eichi Kashii and Warrant Officer Tsunetoshi Oshima. The three were arrested Friday.

Police searched the offices of Kashii and Oshima after the men reportedly told investigators that they gave classified information to a superior who in turn passed it along to Soviet agents on at least 50 occasions since 1973.

The Reuter news agency quoted informed sources as saying the spy ring was uncovered in the United States through the interrogation of Stanislav Levitchenko, a Soviet journalist who had worked in Japan and who was granted political asylum in the United States in October.

The three men allegedly passed military secrets to Soviet military attache Yuri Koslov and his predecessor, Maj. Gen. Pyotr I. Ryhalkin.

Authorities said the information the men gave the Soviets may have included top-secret data on the location of Japanese defense units, American troops in South Korea and Japanese and American intelligence reports on the deployment of Chinese troops in China.

They said both Kashii and Oshima told investigators that they knew the information they gave to Miyanaga was being passed along to the Soviets, but the two men contended that they could not refuse Miyanaga's requests for information because he was their superior officer, police said.

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THE WASHINGTON POST  
20 January 1980

## Japanese General Held for Passing Secrets to Soviets

By Shigehiko Togo  
Washington Post Staff Writer

TOKYO, Jan. 19—The arrest of a former top Japanese general on espionage charges raised suspicions today that both Japanese and American military secrets may have been delivered to Soviet agents.

The veteran military intelligence officer, Yukihisa Miyanaga, 58, and two other men still involved in intelligence work were arrested last night by Tokyo police and accused of leaking defense secrets to Soviet agents.

It was the first post-war spy case involving Soviet agents and members of the Japanese military forces and it rocked a defense organization that prides itself on national loyalty.

Gen. Shigeto Nagano, chief of staff of the Ground Self-Defense Force, told a news conference he was shocked and said, "It would be the most deplorable incident in the history of the Self-Defense Force."

A Foreign Ministry source said the government is prepared to take diplomatic reprisals if it is proved that members of the Soviet embassy here were involved.

According to press reports, Miyanaga admitted receiving money from a Soviet contact and passing some of it along to two associates in the military intelligence offices. The Japan Broadcasting Co. identified the Soviet agent as Col. Yuri N. Koslov, military and air attache at the Russian Embassy and its top intelligence officer. He was reported to be leaving the country promptly.

Since Japan has a limited defense establishment, it was believed Miyanaga may have been passing on information about U.S. military secrets. Defense authorities were most concerned about secrets involving missiles and radar supplied by the U.S., in addition to information about the stationing of Japanese troops.

Police searched their homes of all three men arrested and discovered a number of classified documents, a code book, radio transmitters, and transmission logs.

The other two were identified as 1st Lt. Eiichi Kashii, 45, a member of the self-Defense Force intelligence unit in charge of documents, and warrant officer Tsunetoshi Oshima, 50, a member of the research department.

Miyanaga, who retired in 1975, had been under surveillance for some time, police said, and was arrested after he allegedly was seen receiving documents from Oshima on a Tokyo street.

Miyanaga was charged with forcing the other two to steal secret documents. Both had been his subordinates in intelligence work when he was on active duty.

All three men were specialists in the collection of intelligence on the Soviet Union and are believed to have had access to material revealing what Japanese and U.S. intelligence agencies know about Soviet military capabilities.

After his retirement in 1976, Miyanaga lived alone in an apartment in Tokyo and ran a small appliance sales company. He was divorced and apparently had maintained contact with his former subordinates in the defense agency.

Police were said to suspect that Miyanaga's contacts may have started while he was in active service and continued during his retirement.

It was the seventh Soviet spy case in Japan since the end of World War II but the first in which a member of the defense forces had been implicated.

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BALTIMORE SUN  
19 JANUARY 1980

# Japanese general, 2 others accused of spying

By BRADLEY K. MARTIN  
and HIDEKO TAKAYAMA  
Tokyo Bureau of The Sun

Tokyo—A retired major general and two active-duty intelligence officers of Japan's army were arrested by police last night and accused of spying. The three were alleged to have been passing military documents to the Soviet Union for "several years."

The major general, Yukihiisa Miyanaga, 58, had worked in intelligence during most of his career, which lasted from 1951 to 1974, and had held a high position at the army headquarters in sensitive Hokkaido, the Japanese island closest to the Soviet Union, from 1967 to 1969.

When a Soviet pilot defected to the West by flying his MiG-25 into Hokkaido in 1976, he is reported to have informed Japanese questioners that the Soviet Union had acquired the latest information about Japan's defenses from some insiders.

United States military men contacted last night declined to speculate on whether any U.S. defense secrets might have been compromised. Japan's "self-defense forces" are equipped with a number of American-made or -designed weapons.

Japan has no state-secrets law, although hawks have been pushing for one. General Miyanaga and the other two men, 1st Lt. Eiichi Kashii, 45, and Warrant Officer Tsunetoshi Oshima, 49, were formally charged with theft and with violation of a section of the Self-Defense Law prohibiting unauthorized removal of documents.

According to this morning's edition of the newspaper *Nihon Keizai*, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police raided the homes of the three and at General Miyanaga's home found secret documents, radio sets and a table of random numbers, usable as a code book.

The paper said the two other accused men had worked under the general while he was on active duty and were accused of stealing documents for him. The three were alleged to have been releasing documents during meetings with unidentified Russians.

General Miyanaga had studied Russian at the Army Academy and was considered an expert on the Soviet Union. His duties in the "research" division, a euphemism for army intelligence, reportedly involved collecting and analyzing information on "hypothetical enemies." Since his retirement he had operated an electrical appliance shop in Tokyo.

Officials of the Self-Defense Forces apologized at a press conference for having failed to keep information from being stolen, but claimed that no top-secret material had been lost. That claim did not go over well with some commentators.

One, writing in *Nihon Keizai*, noted that U.S. and Japanese military men recently have stepped up their cooperation and speculated that information on American arms and the latest U.S. strategy had been passed to the Russians.

Japan has had little in the way of major spy scandals since World War II, when Richard Sorge, a German oper-

ating a spy ring here for the Soviet Union, was hanged along with his accomplices.

A western official last night called the current case "a real shocker." Security screening of personnel in sensitive jobs was long considered to be more thorough in Japan than in Britain and West Germany, countries suffering from frequent exposures of spying, because the culture was more receptive to official prying, the official said.

Although Japan has no anti-espionage law as such, it also has no privacy act that would interfere with government snooping. The Metropolitan Police, who made the arrests last night, keep tabs on great numbers of residents whose loyalties and connections are suspected.

The most recent spy case here was of a much lower order than this one. Fishermen at Nemuro in Hokkaido were accused of providing information to the Russians in exchange for fishing rights in Soviet waters.

Although newspapers were reporting that the Russians involved in the current case were attached to the Soviet Embassy here, the embassy had no comment last night.

The case comes, ironically, just as the United States is trying to persuade Japan to go along with economic sanctions against the Soviet Union in response to the Soviet military takeover of Afghanistan. The Japanese have been reluctant to give up a major role in three Siberian development projects.

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CANADIAN SPY SCANDAL

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ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-6NEW YORK TIMES  
22 JANUARY 1980

## Canada Expels 3 Russians as Spies

OTTAWA, Jan. 21 (AP) — Canada has ordered the expulsion of two Soviet Embassy military attachés and an embassy chauffeur on charges of having engaged in espionage against the United States. A United States citizen was also reportedly involved but was not named.

External Affairs Minister Flora McDonald said today that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had determined that "over a period of some 16 months, these Soviet officials met clandestinely with the U.S. citizen," using signal arrangements and other means to exchange information and make payments.

Miss McDonald said that the police had completed their investigation last week, working in cooperation with the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation, and that the F.B.I. had been helped by the American. She said that the Russians had paid more than \$100,000 for information and that it would be up to United States to determine if any action would be taken against the American.

The American was not in the United States Government or military, she said, but was "in the kind of establishment that would have been used by government."

### Warning Against Retaliation

The officials, who were ordered to leave within a week, were indentified as Capt. Igor A. Bardeev, the military, naval and air attaché; Col. Eduard Aleksanjan, assistant military attaché, and V. I. Sokolov, a chauffeur.

Miss McDonald said she told the Soviet Ambassador, Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, that if Moscow took any retaliatory steps for the expulsions, Canada would take

countermeasures. She said she also told him that the expulsions were not related to Canadian protests over the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. She said the Government was considering further measures to protest the Soviet move into Afghanistan.

In one such action, Canada announced it would cooperate with President Carter's partial embargo of United States grain sales to the Russians by not increasing Canadian wheat sales to them.

In the last 20 years, 21 diplomats from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China have been formally expelled for suspected espionage and others have been ordered out quietly, a federal security report said earlier this month. In the most recent case, 13 Soviet diplomats were expelled in February 1978.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A14THE WASHINGTON POST  
22 January 1980

## Canada Expels 3 Soviets for Spying on U.S.

From News Services

OTTAWA, Jan. 21—Canada has ordered the expulsion of two Soviet military attaches and an embassy chauffeur for espionage that involved buying U.S. secrets from an American "in a sensitive position," External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald announced today.

MacDonald refused to reveal the American's identity or the nature of the information involved.

She said the American was neither a military man nor a civil servant, but was "in the kind of establishment that would have been utilized by the government."

He "helped" the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which assisted Canadian authorities in the probe that was completed last week, MacDonald said. She said it would be up to U.S. authorities to determine if any action would be taken against the American.

[FBI and State Department officials in Washington also refused to identify the American or to say whether any further action was likely in the United States.]

The action against the Soviet officials followed the expulsion of 13 staff members of the Soviet Embassy nearly two years ago, when Canada sharply warned Moscow against further espionage out of its Ottawa embassy.

The three ordered expelled today were Capt. Igor A. Bardeev, military, naval and air attache; Col. Eduard Aleksanian, assistant military attache, and V. I. Sokolov, a chauffeur.

A Soviet Embassy spokesman denied that the attaches and chauffeur were spies and suggested that the expulsions were linked to Western protests of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. MacDonald said there was no connection.

MacDonald said the case involved an American "employed in a sensitive position in his own country, who was in contact with the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa and was paid by the embassy to obtain classified information."

She said the Soviets had paid more than \$100,000. Over a period of 16 months, she said, the Soviets "met clandestinely with the U.S. citizen, using traditional signal arrangements and dead-letter boxes in the Ottawa area, where exchanges of information took place and payments were made."

It was not clear from the statement whether the American had assisted authorities from the outset or had been apprehended and persuaded to work against the Soviets. MacDonald said Canadian officials had uncovered the affair.

Meanwhile, Japanese officials said today that an unrelated espionage case there might expand to include more arrests of Japanese military officers, in addition to three charged last week.

That case, according to officials in Tokyo, involves leaking of Japanese information on China to Soviet agents. U.S. military secrets were not involved, Japanese officials said.

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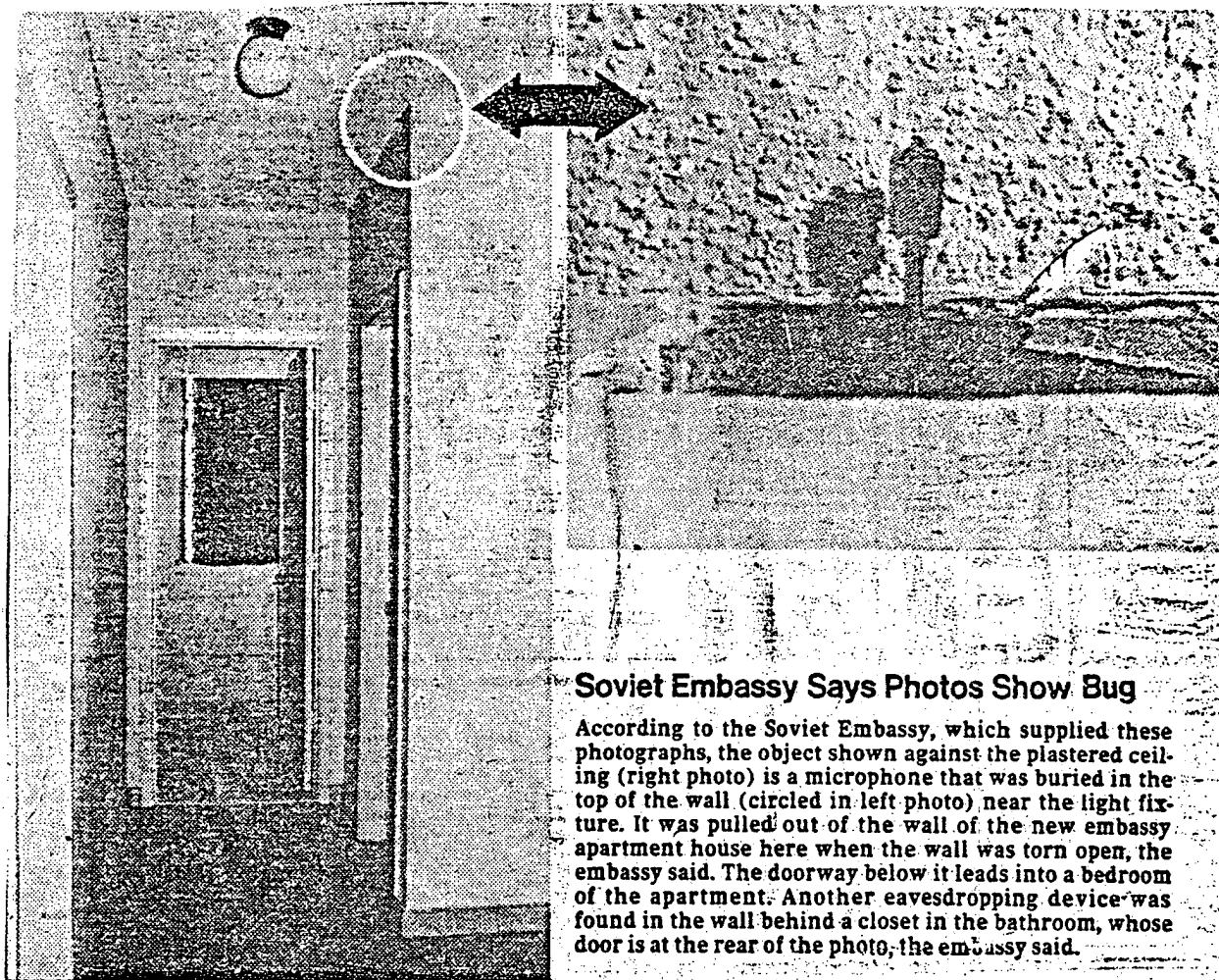
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U.S. -- BUGGING THE SOVIETS

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WASHINGTON STAR  
19 JANUARY 1980



### Soviet Embassy Says Photos Show Bug

According to the Soviet Embassy, which supplied these photographs, the object shown against the plastered ceiling (right photo) is a microphone that was buried in the top of the wall (circled in left photo) near the light fixture. It was pulled out of the wall of the new embassy apartment house here when the wall was torn open, the embassy said. The doorway below it leads into a bedroom of the apartment. Another eavesdropping device was found in the wall behind a closet in the bathroom, whose door is at the rear of the photo, the embassy said.

## Apartments Here Bugged, Soviets Say

### Embassy Says U.S. Planted Devices in New Complex

By Henry S. Bradsher  
Washington Star Staff Writer

A month after moving into its new apartment house in Northwest Washington, the Soviet Embassy here charged yesterday that the Americans buried bugging devices in the walls.

"Any sound — a word in the living room, a whisper in the bedroom or a

water flush in the toilet — could reach, unobstructed, such departments as the FBI and the CIA," the Soviet government newspaper Izvestia said yesterday in Moscow, according to the official press agency Tass.

The embassy's charge d'affaires, Vladilen M. Vasev, "lodged a resolute protest over these subversive activities of U.S. intelligence services," Izvestia said.

Bugging charges and counter-charges are nothing new in U.S.-Soviet relations.

When Joseph V. Stalin ordered the

American Embassy out of a building facing the Kremlin after World War II, because in the developing "cold war" he did not want to look out his window and see a U.S. flag, the Soviet government altered an apartment building two miles away into offices and residences for a new embassy.

For decades afterwards, U.S. diplomats kept discovering new places where the alterations had included the installation of listening devices for spying on the embassy.

CONTINUED



The State Department confirmed that Vasev protested to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance last Monday. But spokesman Hodding Carter refused to discuss the case.

"We never react to those things," another official said. He said the protest and the Soviet publicity would probably be the end of the matter, just as U.S. protests about Soviet-planted bugs have been forgotten by the Soviet foreign ministry.

In the gray world of spies and counterspies, each side takes it for granted that the other plants bugs at every opportunity.

Searches with metal detectors and more sophisticated electronic devices are routinely made of embassies and other places where secrets might be discussed. Not confident with the searches, many countries maintain special soundproof rooms with elaborate electronic protective equipment in their embassies for holding the most secret conversations.

A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy said the new building is still being searched for additional bugs. He refused to disclose how many have been found so far, saying that would tell those who planted the bugs how many they still had in operation.

The building is the first part of a large new Soviet complex on the site once occupied by the Mt. Alto Veterans Hospital at the corner of Wisconsin Avenue and Tunlaw Road. The J-shaped, nine-story building contains

168 apartments, a school for Soviet children, a club and a gymnasium.

Further work on an office building and an ambassadorial residence have been delayed by the United States in order to have leverage for getting authorities in Moscow to work speedily on a new U.S. Embassy complex being built there. The United States is trying to take precautions against bugs being built into it.

The general contractor for the Soviet building here, which was completed last summer, was the George Hyman Construction Co. of Bethesda. The company has built embassies here for three other countries.

Its vice president, Benny J. Pasquariello, said yesterday he was shocked at the Soviet allegation.

The Soviet Embassy had a full staff of inspectors and engineers monitoring all phases of construction, Pasquariello said, and the site was under constant Soviet guard and monitoring by a television security system.

"I find it very difficult to believe that anything was put there without the Soviets being aware of it," he said. "We couldn't even pour concrete unless the Soviets gave us written permission."

Photographs supplied by the Soviet Embassy on request yesterday showed what a spokesman said were listening devices in one apartment. One was allegedly found in the wall of a hallway connecting a living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath-

room, and another behind the wall at the back of the bathroom closet.

The bathroom closet device shown in one photo was about 15 by 4 inches in size and attached by a short cable to an antenna. Written on it were two words, "f— you."

The Soviet spokesman said the devices could be turned off and on by external radio command.

He said Soviet officials began to find the bugs even before embassy families started moving into the building last month. Between 15 and 20 families are now living there.

"Microphones, electric batteries, transmitters, cables and wires designed for eavesdropping were extracted from the hollow structures and bricks into the light of day," Izvestia said.

It said that over the years the U.S. government had bugged various Soviet missions and residences in the United States, a trade office, and cars of officials of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations as well as cars of Soviet citizens working for the United Nations.

Izvestia made the accusations public as Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin was flying back to Washington after a month at home and U.S. Ambassador Thomas J. Watson Jr. was returning to Moscow.

Dobrynin went home abruptly as the Soviet Union was making military preparations for the invasion of Afghanistan in late December. Watson was recalled for consultations as a sign of President Carter's anger over the Soviet move.

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THE WASHINGTON POST  
19 January 1980

# Soviets Accuse U.S. Of Planting 'Bugs' In Apartments Here

By Don Oberdorfer

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet Union charged yesterday that the United States implanted secret eavesdropping devices in the new Soviet Embassy apartments at Mount Alto off Wisconsin Avenue.

U.S. spokesmen had no comment on the latest skirmish of the undercover war between the intelligence agencies of the two countries, except to confirm that a Soviet diplomatic protest about the alleged bugging was presented to the State Department last Monday.

A State Department official said Soviet Acting Ambassador Vladimir M. Vasev "waved around" photographs of eavesdropping devices while making his protest to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance. The Soviet Embassy released some of the photographs yesterday to back up the charges, which were published in the government newspaper, Izvestia.

The Izvestia article suggested that the bugs were found when the nine-story apartment building was completed last October. There was no explanation for the timing of the diplomatic protest and public charges, but U.S. officials expressed the view that the deepening discord between the two nations was an important factor.

The United States vigorously protested Soviet bugging of American diplomatic facilities in Moscow. A listening device was found in the Great Seal of the United States in the U.S. ambassador's residence in Moscow in 1952 and was displayed by then-ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge during the U2 crisis in 1960.

More than 40 microphones were discovered in the walls of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow between 1953 and 1964, according to the State Department. When the political section of the embassy was remodeled in 1973, scores of bugs reportedly were found,

11 of them in one room. More devices and a secret tunnel to service them were discovered at the U.S. Embassy in mid-1978.

The Izvestia account said "the amazing acoustics" of the new Soviet apartments here enabled the FBI and the CIA to hear "every sound, from a word spoken in the drawing room to a whisper in the bedroom or a splash of water in the toilet." The article charged that the eavesdropping devices were put into the walls with the approval of "very high-ranking U.S. authorities."

Soviet Embassy officials here said the plaster in one corner of an apartment concealed loops of wires and listening devices attached to a transmitter hidden in the wall of other parts of the building. An employee of George Hyman Construction Co., contractors for the embassy apartment, said no one was available who could comment on the Soviet charges.

The Izvestia article, which was transmitted abroad by the Soviet news agency, Tass, also charged that "tens of secret microphones and other eavesdropping devices have been discovered and removed" from Soviet offices and homes on U.S. soil. The article charged that these included:

- Bugs in "a suburban settlement of the embassy near Washington."
- Devices in the building housing the Soviet trade delegation.
- An "impressive eavesdropping system" at the Soviet consulate in San Francisco.
- Microphones in the upholstery of staff cars of the Soviet delegation and of Soviet members of the international secretariat at the United Nations.

Soviet Embassy officials said an official protest had been made to the United States whenever bugs were found.

The new eavesdropping charges were made as Soviet Ambassador An-

atoly F. Dobrynin returned yesterday from six weeks in Moscow. In the interim, Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan, bringing a sharp downturn in Soviet-American relations verging on a return to the chilly diplomatic relations of the Cold War era.

In the newest U.S. countermove, President Carter yesterday reversed a decision to permit importation of an unlimited amount of anhydrous ammonia from the Soviet Union.

Carter had made the earlier decision Dec. 11, but yesterday he limited imports to one million tons, a figure recommended by the U.S. International Trade Commission.

Under Carter's order, new hearings will be held by the commission. Occidental Petroleum Corp., the importer of the ammonia, expressed confidence that the commission will find the imports in the national interest.

18 January 1980

# U.S. Bugged Mission Here, Soviets Say

## Listening Devices Alleged In New Envoy Quarters

By Henry S. Bradsher  
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Soviet Union accused the United States today of bugging the new Soviet Embassy complex at Wisconsin Avenue and Tunlaw Road in Northwest Washington.

The charge d'affaires at the embassy, Vladilen M. Vasev, protested to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance on Monday, it became known today, after the Soviet accusation was made public.

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter acknowledged today that a protest had been received, but refused to comment on it.

A Soviet Embassy spokesman said some "very simple devices" for listening to conversations in the new Soviet diplomatic apartment building had been found even before diplomats started moving in last month. He said embassy personnel are continuing to check the building, plus other buildings in the complex that include a club and a gymnasium.

"We gave all the evidence to the State Department," the Soviet spokesman said.

An official of the Bethesda contracting company that built the \$11 million-plus Mount Alto complex, however, said today he was "shocked" at the Soviet allegation and did not believe anything could have been built into the building without the Russians being aware of it.

"We couldn't even pour concrete unless the Soviets gave us written permission," he said.

The Soviet accusation was first made public by an article in today's edition of the Soviet government newspaper Izvestia, published in Moscow.

The Soviet press agency Tass quoted Izvestia as reporting that "eavesdropping devices secretly installed by the American espionage services have been discovered in the living quarters of the USSR's embassy in Washington." The report said that "the Soviet Embassy in the United States has made a resolute protest."

Izvestia, quoted by Tass, said the new apartment building was wired so that "every sound — from a word spoken in the drawing room to a whisper in the bedroom or a splash of water in the toilet — could directly reach such establishments as the FBI and the CIA."

The report came as Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin was scheduled to be en route back to Washington from a month-long stay in Moscow and U.S. Ambassador Thomas J. Watson Jr. was flying from Washington back to Moscow.

Dobrynin left Washington as the Soviet Union began preparing for its invasion of Afghanistan. That invasion plummeted Soviet-American relations to a new low and caused the withdrawal of Watson from Moscow for consultations.

The new Soviet Embassy complex on the site of old Mt. Alto Veterans Hospital has been only partially completed under an agreement that the Soviets will not fully occupy it until a new U.S. Embassy is built in Moscow.

Work has just begun on the American Embassy there.

A local contractor, George Hyman Construction Co., did the main work on the part of the Soviet Embassy completed so far, including a nine-story apartment house for approximately 1,000 people.

Benny J. Pasquariello, the vice president of the Hyman firm, said the contract with the Soviets for construction of the facility included provisions allowing the Russians to inspect the work as it was being done.

He said the Russians had a full staff of inspectors and engineers on the construction site monitoring all aspects of the work. He said, moreover, that the entire site was under constant surveillance by Soviet cameras and guards.

"I find it very difficult to believe that anything was put there without the Soviets being aware of it," Pasquariello said.

He said the Soviets had not complained directly to the construction company, which had built embassy facilities for three other foreign governments in Washington prior to winning the contract for the Russian facility.

The Soviet accusation recalled to Soviet affairs specialists here what happened when the Soviet Union turned an apartment house in Moscow into an American Embassy building in the late 1940s.

Bugs that had been built into the building were being discovered and dug out of the walls off and on over the next two decades or more.

Izvestia, which Tass said published pictures of the bugging devices found in the Soviet quarters here, said that "microphones, electrical batteries, transmitters, cables and wires designed for bugging purposes were brought to the light of day from hollow structures and bricks."

Izvestia asked, "How do American 'fee entrepreneurs,' including building contractors with Soviet representations, come to be involved in spying matters?"

"We are convinced that the initiative does not come from the business world. The eavesdropping equipment is put into the walls by the espionage services and with the approval of very high-ranking U.S. authorities."

The article said that "the U.S. special services have more than once been caught in the act" of bugging Soviet diplomats in the United States. This spying "which is widely practiced . . . is not accidental," Izvestia said.

"As numerous facts testify, the U.S. secret services need it in order to collect various evidence, primarily on the personal life of Soviet people, which they actively make use of — against the background of the demagogic verbiage of the U.S. administration about the defense of human rights — to organize blackmail and various dirty provocations against Soviet citizens."

The article also complained of "substantial faults" in the apartment houses' construction. Soviet authorities found that "the plastering in certain places was hanging by a thread and cracks were found on the walls and pillars," Izvestia said.

Washington Star Staff Writer Walter Taylor contributed to this report.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
17 January 1980

## *Russ outspend U.S. on arms, CIA says*

WASHINGTON [UPI]—A new CIA report says Russian defense spending during the 1970s surpassed that of the United States by a wide margin and probably will continue to do so.

The Soviet Union spent about 30 per cent more than the U.S. for defense during the last decade, said the report released Tuesday by the House Armed Services Committee.

"The pattern was one of continuous growth throughout the decade," the CIA said.

"In contrast, the trend in U.S. outlays was downward for most of the period" until 1976 when the trend showed increases in procurement, research and development, and operation and maintenance, but declines persisted in military personnel and construction.

"EVIDENCE ON weapon systems currently in production at major defense industries plants and the increasing costs of modern weapons indicate that this long-term trend in Soviet defense activities will continue into the 1980s at about the same rate of growth," the report said.

The study paper represents estimates of "what it would cost to produce and man in the United States a military force of the same size and with the same weapons inventory as that of the U.S.S.R. and to operate that force as the Soviets do," the report said.

"The estimated dollar costs of Soviet defense activities caught up with U.S. defense outlays in 1971 and exceeded them by a widening margin through 1979," it said. "In 1979 the Soviet total was about \$165 billion, approximately 50

per cent higher than the U.S. total of \$108 billion."

THE CIA CONCLUDED that Soviet defense activities accounted for 11 to 12 per cent of the Soviet Gross National Product in the 1970s. Defense activities in the U.S. accounted for approximately 8 per cent of the U.S. GNP in 1970 and 5 per cent in 1979.

The CIA report said the Soviet Union outspent the U.S. by an even larger margin if only the cost of military hardware is calculated.

Excluding personnel costs [which were based on U.S. pay rates], the estimated dollar costs of Soviet defense activities exceed U.S. outlays in 1979 by 40 per cent and are 15 per cent greater for the entire decade.

If research and development costs are excluded, the Soviets outspent the U.S. by 45 per cent in 1979 and 25 per cent for the decade.

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NEW YORK TIMES  
24 JANUARY 1980

## U.S. Is Unable to Confirm A-Blast

By RICHARD BURT  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 — A high-level team of American scientists has been unable to confirm that a nuclear device was detonated last September near South Africa, White House aides said today.

The team was assembled by President Carter's science adviser, Frank Press, after an intelligence satellite, passing over the South Atlantic, detected an intense burst of light that resembled a nuclear explosion.

Officials stated that after two months of investigations, the team sent a report to the White House last week that said no evidence had been found to corroborate the satellite's findings. At the same time, officials said that the scientists, led by Jack Ruina, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had ruled out several possible natural explanations for the mysterious flash.

As a result, they said, the question of whether South Africa or another country carried out a secret nuclear test remained as big a mystery as ever.

The disclosure of the satellite's findings last October created deep concern in Government circles and, despite South African denials, several officials suggested that it was highly likely that a nu-

clear test had been conducted somewhere in an area of 4,500 square miles between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, from the tip of South Africa to Antarctica.

Officials said that in recent weeks, Professor Runia and his colleagues looked for additional evidence of a nuclear blast and examined whether the satellite was functioning properly when it detected a possible test. While the scientists are said to have found no malfunction aboard the satellite, checks of seismic and acoustical equipment and efforts to collect radioactive debris in the atmosphere have failed to confirm the spacecraft's finding.

In addition, the scientists are said to have studied whether various natural phenomena, such as so-called "superbolts" of lightning, could have produced the flash detected by the satellite. Officials said that all natural causes of the light flash had been ruled out, with the exception of the remote possibility that a rotating piece of "space debris," reflecting sunlight, created an optical signal similar to that of a nuclear test.

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER  
23 January 1980

## A change in mood

# Bush uses the CIA connection

By J. F. terHorst

MANCHESTER, N.H. — The crowd suddenly fell quiet, eyes riveted on the speaker, ears straining for every word. George Bush was describing the spy business, the need to provide a president with the best foreign intelligence that American agents could provide.

"Believe me," Bush shouted, voice rising, "it's time we got off the back of the CIA. . . ."

The hall exploded with applause, sometimes accompanied by cheers and whistles. Bush has touched a sensitive nerve in the body politic, not just here in New England but equally in Iowa and the South and wherever he goes.

The audience reaction signals a surprising facet about the changed global content of the 1980 presidential campaign in the wake of Iran's seizure of American hostages and Russia's invasion of Afghanistan. The CIA is no longer a dirty name. And, for Bush, his 1976-77 stint as director of central intelligence no longer need be considered a political liability in his race for the White House.

That was not always the case. When Bush began his campaign early last year, his advisers cautioned him against making a big deal out of his CIA connection.

Given the agency's low repute with the public, the result of congressional exposures of past dirty tricks and the CIA's suspicious links with Nix-

on's Watergate cover-up, that sounded like good advice.

Although Bush had been appointed to the CIA by President Ford to straighten out the agency and draft a new code of conduct to prevent future abuses, Bush was bluntly told that the public would not grasp such details. Play down the year with the CIA, Bush's managers advised. In the beginning, even his campaign literature glossed over it.

Now everything has changed, and Bush with it. The CIA has become one of his favorite stump topics. He talks enthusiastically about the need to bolster the agency's intelligence capability, about the importance of supplementing U.S. technologic means of spying through satellites and photo-reconnaissance with espionage by undercover agents and cooperative foreign sources. And Bush pleads for a return to the days when agents and sources could count on protection from public disclosure.

"If a newspaperman bared his own sources, they would dry up," Bush likes to say. "Well, the same is true in the intelligence game."

Audiences love it, and, for the most part, seem to agree, as perhaps the vote in Iowa Monday indicates. Bush cites one measurement of that — a Harris Poll showing the American public favors strengthening the CIA by a margin of 72 to 19. So now he always is introduced to audiences as "the former director of the CIA" as

well as the former ambassador to China and to the United Nations.

The international crisis clearly has boosted President Carter's stock in the opinion polls — also as indicated by the Iowa vote — primarily because the nation's patriotic instincts are rallying behind their chief. But the crisis has also helped Bush. It has awakened the nation's need for improving intelligence-gathering regarding Soviet intentions.

"How the pendulum swings," Bush mused the other day. It has indeed swung. With his CIA record having turned from a liability into an asset, Bush can now shed his cloak and come in from the cold.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
28 January 1980

## Washington Whispers

Latest in a stream of complaints to Congress about strains the Freedom of Information Act puts on federal agencies: The CIA is convinced that requests filed under the statute for classified data ostensibly by European college students actually originate in the Russian KGB.